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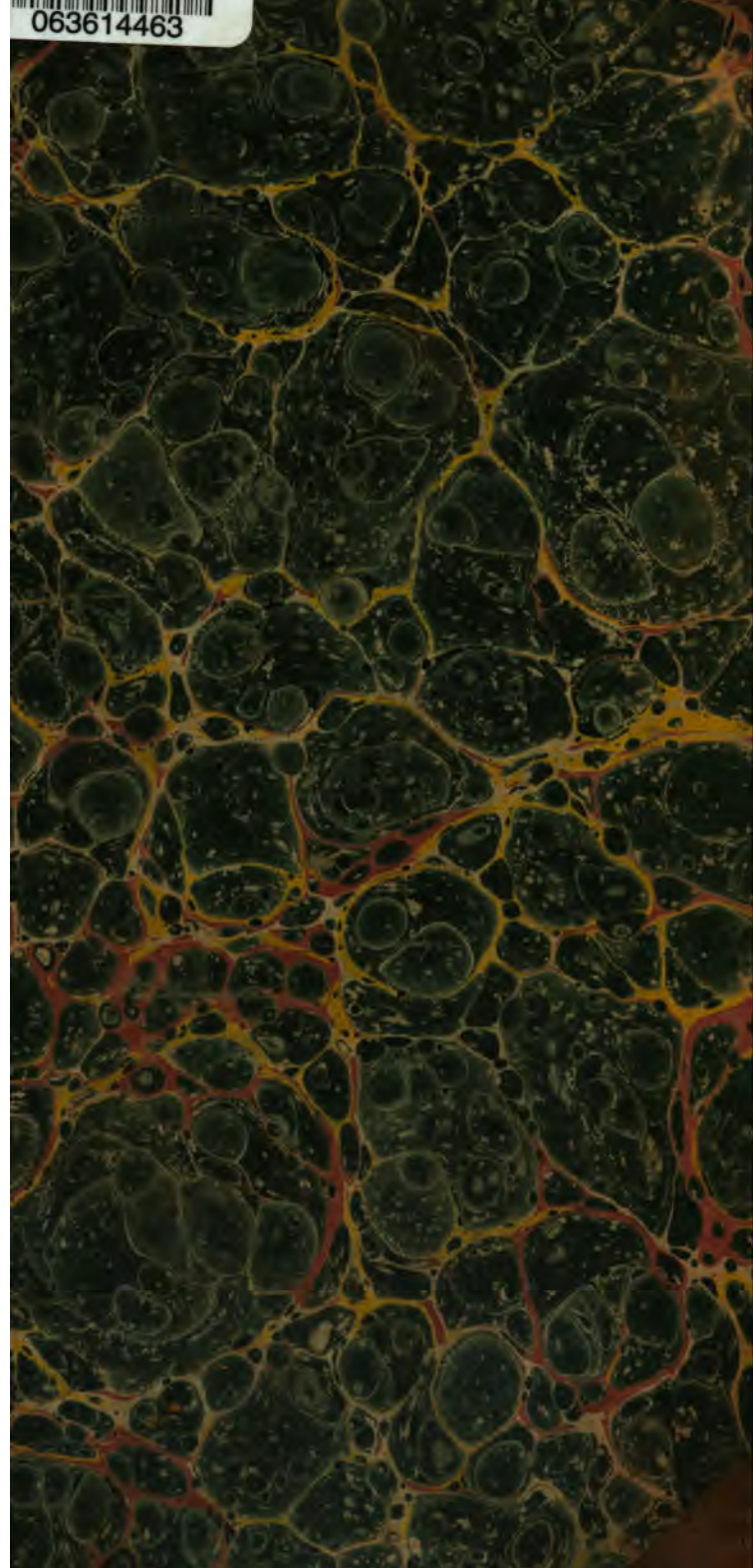
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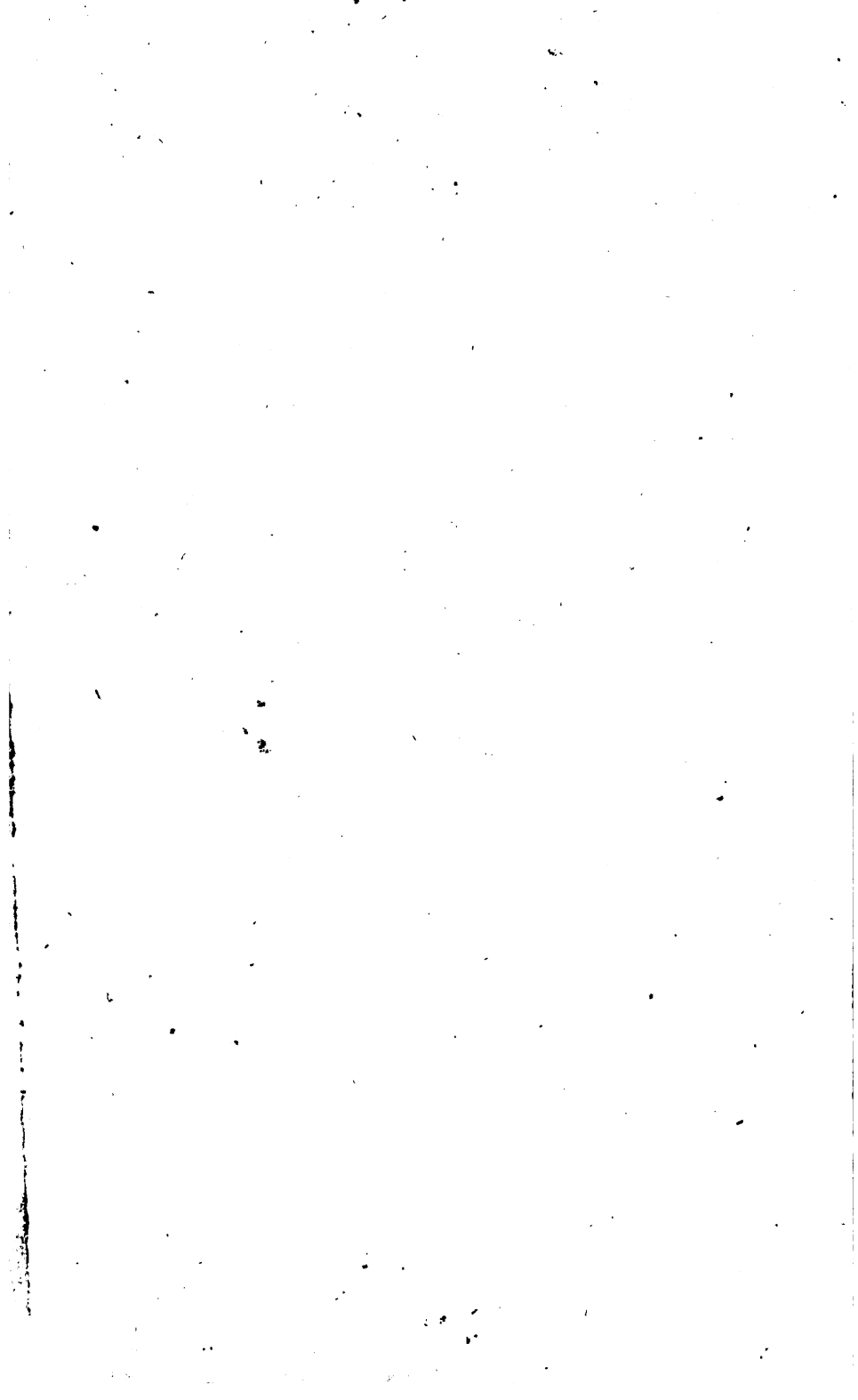
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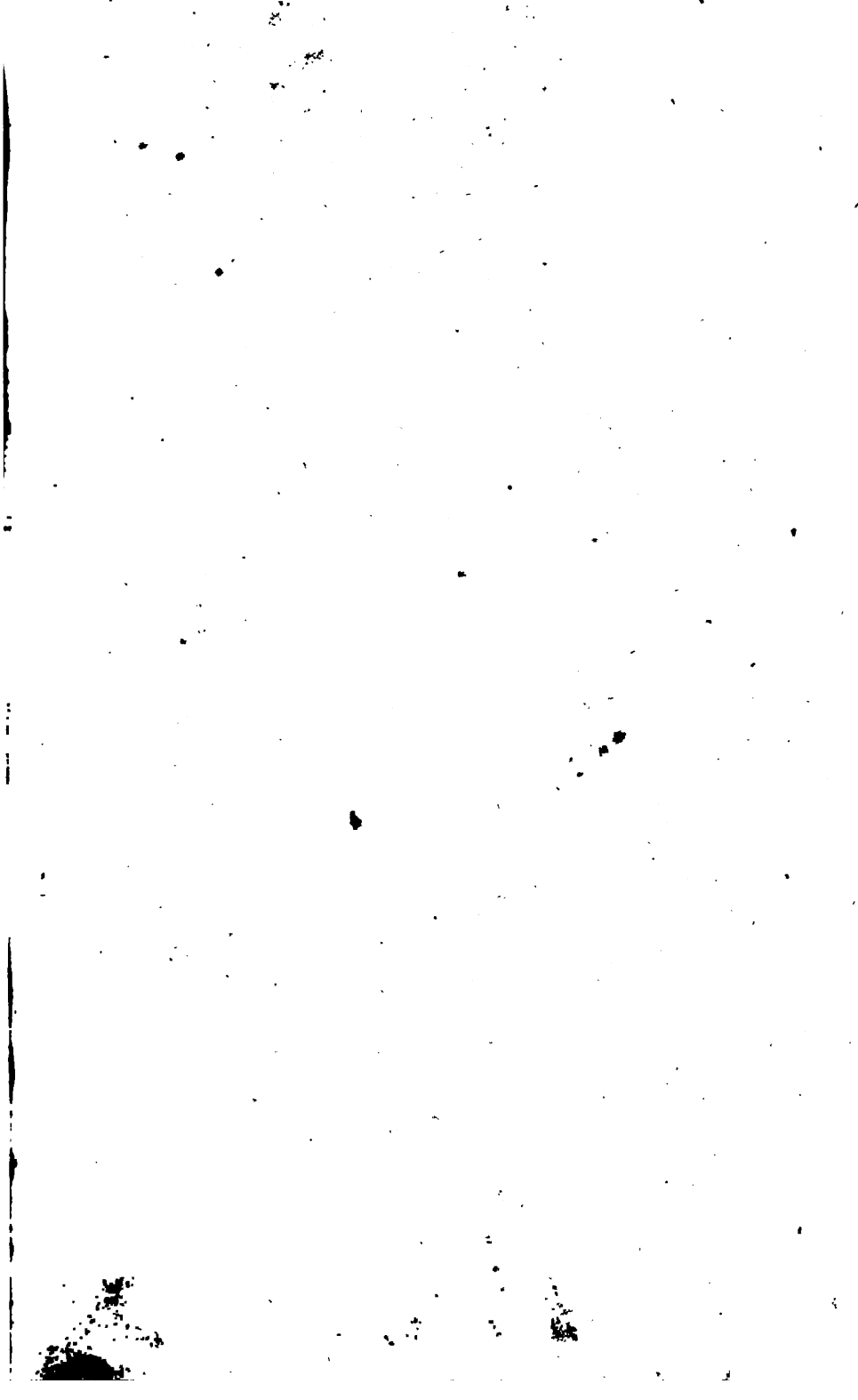
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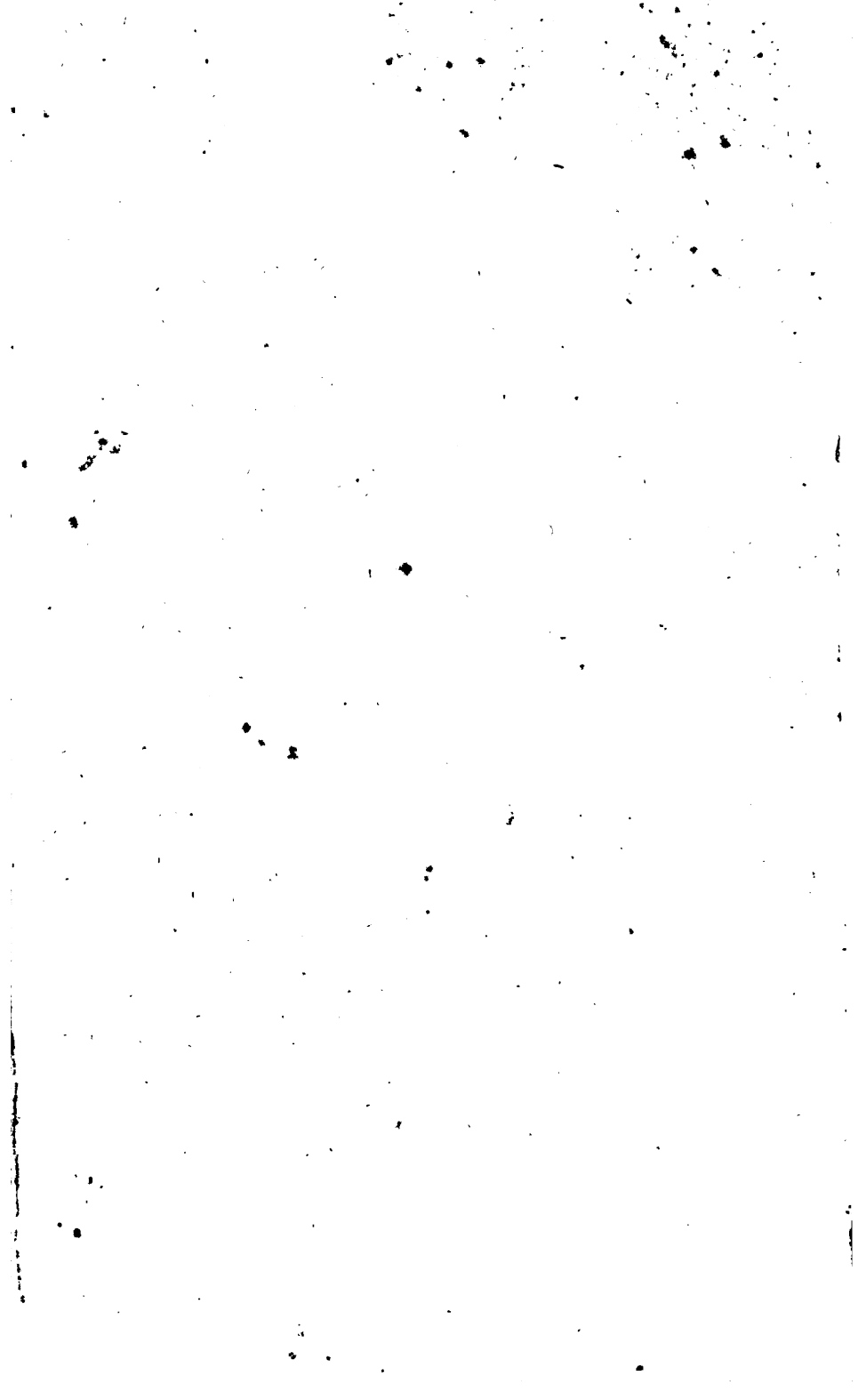
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Sam^l. Miller.

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EXPOSITION

OF THE

C R E E D.

BY JOHN PEARSON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER.

UNIVERSITY

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

PRINCETON N.J.

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THIS edition has been carefully collated with the best folio copies. The quotations and notes have been accurately examined : for the purpose of more convenient reference, they are subjoined at the foot of each page, and do not (as in some other 8vo. editions) form a distinct volume. The Editors venture to express their hopes, that these volumes will be an acceptable manual to the students of divinity.

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND WELL-BELOVED
THE PARISHIONERS OF ST. CLEMENT'S,
EAST-CHEAP.

Mercy unto you, and peace and love be multiplied.

IF I should be at any time unmindful of your commands, you might well esteem me unworthy of your continued favours; and there is some reason to suspect I have incurred the interpretation of forgetfulness, having been so backward in the performance of my promises. Some years have passed since I preached unto you upon such texts of Scripture as were on purpose selected in relation to the CREED, and was moved by you to make those meditations public. But you were pleased then to grant what my inclinations rather led me to, that they might be turned into an Exposition of the Creed itself; which, partly by the difficulty of the work undertaken, partly by the intervention of some other employments, hath taken me up thus long, for which I desire your pardon. And yet a happy excuse may be pleaded for delay, meeting with a very great felicity, that as faith triumpheth in good works, so my Exposition of the Creed should be contemporary with the re-edifying of your church. For though I can have little temptation to believe that my book should last so long as that fabric, yet I am exceedingly pleased that they should begin together; that the publish-

ing of the one should so agree with the opening the other. This, I hope, may persuade you to forget my slackness, considering ye were not ready to your own expectation; your experience tells you the excuse of church work will be accepted in building, I beseech you let it not be denied in printing.

That blessed saint by whose name your parish is known, was a fellow-labourer with St. Paul, and a successor of St. Peter; he had the honour to be numbered in the Scripture with them whose names are written in the book of life; and when he had sealed the gospel with his blood, he was one of the first whose memory was perpetuated by the building a church to bear his name. Thus was St. Clement's church famous in Rome, when Rome was famous for the faith spoken of throughout the whole world. He wrote an epistle to the Corinthians infested with a schism, in imitation of St. Paul, which obtained so great authority in the primitive times, that it was frequently read in their public congregations; and yet had for many hundred years been lost, till it was at last set forth out of the library of the late King.

Now as by the providence of God, the memory of that primitive saint hath been restored in our age, so my design aimeth at nothing else but that the primitive faith may be revived. And therefore in this edition to the Creed, I shall speak to you but what St. Jude hath already spoken to the whole church: "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints." If it were so needful for him then to write, and for them to whom he wrote to contend for the first faith, it will appear as needful for me now to follow his

writing, and for you to imitate their earnestness, because the reason which he renders, as the cause of that necessity, is now more prevalent than it was at that time, or ever since. “For (saith he) there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation; ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.” The principles of Christianity are now as freely questioned as the most doubtful and controverted points; the grounds of faith are as safely denied as the most unnecessary superstructions; that religion hath the greatest advantage which appeareth in the newest dress, as if we looked for another faith to be delivered to the saints: whereas in Christianity there can be no concerning truth which is not ancient; and whatsoever is truly new, is certainly false. Look then for purity in the fountain, and strive to embrace the first faith, to which you cannot have a more probable guide than the CREED, received in all ages of the church; and to this I refer you, as it leads you to the Scriptures, from whence it was at first deduced, that while “those which are unskilful and unstable, wrest” the words of God himself “unto their own damnation;” ye may receive so much instruction as may set you beyond the imputation of unskilfulness, and so much of confirmation as may place you out of the danger of instability; which as it hath been the constant endeavour, so shall it ever be the prayer of him, who after so many encouragements of his labours amongst you, doth still desire to be known as

Your most faithful Servant in the Lord,

JOHN PEARSON.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

I HAVE in this book undertaken an Exposition of the CREED, and think it necessary in this Preface to give a brief account of the work, lest any should either expect to find that here which was never intended, or conceive that which they meet with such as they expected not.

The CREED, without controversy, is a brief comprehension of the objects of our Christian faith, and is generally taken to contain all things necessary to be believed. Now whether all things necessary be contained there, concerneth not an expositor to dispute, who is obliged to take notice of what is in it, but not to inquire into what is not: whether all truths comprehended in the same be of equal and absolute necessity, we are no way forced to declare; it being sufficient, as to the design of an exposition, to interpret the words, and to deliver the sense, to demonstrate the truth of the sense delivered, and to manifest the proper necessity of each truth, how far, and in what degree, and to what purposes, it is necessary.

This therefore is the method which I proposed to myself, and have prosecuted in every article. First, to settle the words of each article according to their antiquity and generality of reception in the CREED. Secondly, to explicate and unfold the terms, and to endeavour a right notion and conception of them as they are to be understood in the same. Thirdly, to shew what are those truths which are naturally contained in those terms so explicated, and to make it appear that they are truths indeed, by such arguments and reasons as are respectively proper to evidence the verity of them. Fourthly, to declare what is the necessity of believing those truths, what efficacy and influence they have in

the soul, and upon the life of a believer. Lastly, by a recollection of all, briefly to deliver the sum of every particular truth, so that every one when he pronounceth the CREED may know what he ought to intend, and what he is understood to profess, when he so pronounceth it.

In the prosecution of the whole, according to this method, I have considered, that a work of so general a concernment must be exposed to two kinds of readers, which, though they may agree in judgment, yet must differ much in their capacities. Some there are who understand the original languages of the Holy Scripture, the discourses and tractates of the ancient fathers, the determinations of the councils, and history of the church of God, the constant profession of settled truths, the rise and increase of schisms and heresies. Others there are unacquainted with such conceptions, and incapable of such instructions; who understand the Scriptures as they are translated; who are capable of the knowledge of the truths themselves, and of the proofs drawn from thence; who can apprehend the nature of the Christian faith, with the power and efficacy of the same, when it is delivered unto them out of the word of God, and in a language which they know. When I make this difference and distinction of readers, I do not intend thereby, that because one of these is learned, the other is ignorant; for he which hath no skill of the learned languages, may notwithstanding be very knowing in the principles of Christian religion, and the reason and efficacy of them.

According to this distinction I have contrived my Exposition, so that the body of it containeth fully what can be delivered and made intelligible in the English tongue, without inserting the least sentence or phrase of any learned language; by which he who is not acquainted with it might be disturbed in his reading, or interrupted in his understanding. Not that I have selected only such notions as are common, easy, and familiar of themselves, but have endeavoured to deliver the most material conceptions in the most plain and perspicuous manner; as desirous to comprise the whole strength of the work, as far as it is possible, in the body of it. The other part I have placed in the margin* (but so

* The marginal notes are in this edition placed at the bottom of the page.

as oftentimes it taketh up more room, and yet is never mingled or confounded with the rest), in which is contained whatsoever is necessary for the illustration of any part of the CREED, as to them which have any knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and original languages, of the writings of the ancient fathers, the doctrines of the Jews, and the history of the church, those great advantages towards a right perception of the Christian religion.

Now being the CREED comprehendeth the principles of our religion, it must contain those truths which belong unto it as it is a religion, and those which concern it as it is ours. As it is a religion, it delivereth such principles as are to be acknowledged in natural theology, such as no man which worshippeth a God can deny; and therefore in the proof of these, I have made use of such arguments and reasons as are most proper to oppose the atheists, who deny there is a God to be worshipped, a religion to be professed. As it is our religion, it is Christian and catholic. As Christian, it containeth such truths as were delivered by Christ and his apostles, and those especially concerning Christ himself, which I have prosecuted constantly with an eye to the Jews, who obstinately deny them, expecting still another Messias to come; wherefore I shew out of the law and the prophets, which they acknowledge, what was foretold in every particular concerning the Messias, and prove all those to be completed by that Christ in whom we believe. As our religion is catholic, it holdeth fast that "faith which was once delivered to the saints," and since preserved in the church; and therefore I expound such verities, in opposition to the heretics arising in all ages, especially against the Photinians, who of all the rest have most perverted the articles of our CREED, and found out followers in these latter ages, who have erected a new body of divinity in opposition to the catholic theology. Against these I proceed upon such principles as they themselves allow, that is, upon the word of God delivered in the Old and New Testament, alleged according to the true sense, and applied by right reason; not urging the authority of the church which they reject, but only giving in the margin the sense of the primitive fathers, for the satisfaction of

such as have any respect left for antiquity, and are persuaded that Christ had a true church on the earth before these times.

In that part, which after the demonstration of each truth, teacheth the necessity of the believing it, and the peculiar efficacy which it hath upon the life of a Christian, I have not thought fit to expatiate or enlarge myself, but only to mention such effects as flow naturally and immediately from the doctrine, especially such as are delivered in the Scriptures; which I have endeavoured to set forth with all possible plainness and perspicuity. And indeed in the whole work, as I have laid the foundation upon the written word of God, so I have with much diligence collected such places of Scripture as are pertinent to each doctrine, and with great faithfulness delivered them as they lie in the writings of those holy penmen; not referring the reader to places named in the margin (which too often I find in many books multiplied to little purpose), but producing and interweaving the sentences of Scripture into the body of my Exposition, so that the reader may understand the strength of all my reason without any farther inquiry or consultation. For if those words which I have produced, prove not what I have intended, I desire not any to think there is more in the places named to maintain it.

At the conclusion of every distinct and several notion, I have recollected briefly and plainly the sum of what hath been delivered in the explication of it, and put it, as it were, into the mouth of every Christian, thereby to express more fully his faith, and to declare his profession. So that if the reader please to put those collections together, he may at once see and perceive what he is in the whole obliged to believe, and what he is by the church of God understood to profess, when he maketh this public, ancient, and orthodox confession of faith.

I have nothing more to add; but only to pray, that the Lord would give you and me a good understanding in all things.

THE
C R E E D.

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord: Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried: He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from the dead: He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead: I believe in the Holy Ghost; The holy catholic church; The communion of saints; The forgiveness of sins; The resurrection of the body; And the life everlasting.

EXPOSITION OF THE CREED.

ARTICLE I.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

As the first word *Credo*, *I believe*, giveth a denomination to the whole confession of faith, from thence commonly called the CREED; so is the same word to be imagined not to stand only where it is expressed, but to be carried through the whole body of the confession. For although it be but twice actually rehearsed, yet must we conceive it virtually prefixed to the head of every article: that as we say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, so we are also understood to say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord*; as *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, so also *I believe the catholic church*. Neither is it to be joined with every complete article only; but where any article is not a single verity, but comprehensive, there it is to be looked upon as affixed to every part, or single truth, contained in that article: as, for example, in the first, *I believe in God*, *I believe that God to be the Father*, *I believe that Father to be Almighty*, *I believe that Father Almighty to be the Maker of heaven and earth*. So that this *Credo*, *I believe*, rightly considered, multiplieth itself to no less than a double number of the articles, and will be found at least twenty-four times contained in the CREED. Wherefore, being a word so pregnant and diffusive, so necessary and essential to every part of our confession of faith, that without it we can neither have CREED nor confession, it will require a more exact consideration, and more ample explication, and that in such a notion as is properly applicable to so many and so various truths.

Now by this previous expression, *I believe*, thus considered, every particular Christian is first taught, and then imagined, to make confession of his faith; and, consequently, this word, so used, admits a threefold consideration: First, As it sup-

poseth belief, or faith, which is confessed. Secondly, As it is a confession, or external expression of that faith so supposed. Thirdly, As both the faith and confession are of necessary and particular obligation. When, therefore, we shall have clearly delivered, First, What is the true nature and notion of belief; Secondly, What the duty of confessing of our faith; Thirdly, What obligation lies upon every particular person to believe and confess; then may we be conceived to have sufficiently explicated the first word of the CREED, then may every one understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he professeth, *I believe*.

For the right understanding of the true nature of Christian faith, it will be no less than necessary to begin with the general notion of belief; which being first truly stated and defined, then by degrees deduced into its several kinds, will at last make the nature of Christian faith intelligible: a design, if I mistake not, not so ordinary and usual, as useful and necessary.

Belief in general I define to be an assent to that which is credible, as credible. By the word *assent** is expressed that act or habit of the understanding, by which it receiveth, acknowledgeth, and embraceth any thing as a truth; it being the nature† of the soul so to embrace whatsoever appeareth true unto it, and so far as it so appeareth. Now this assent, or judgment of any thing to be true, being a general act of the understanding, and so applicable to other‡ habits thereof

* Πίστις δὲ περίφημος ἐκείνους ἔστιν, διασβεβίας συγκατάθεσις. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. Πίστις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ συγκατάθεσις ἀδιδασκευτοῦ τῶν ἀκουσθέντων ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν κερυχθέντων Θεοῦ χάριτι. St. Basil. Ascet. de Fide. The Basilidians, Ὁρίζονται γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Βασιλίδου τὴν πίστιν ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσιν πρὸς τι τῶν μὴ κινούντων ἀσέβησιν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρῆναι. Clem. Alex. l. ii. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἡμῶν λόγον, πίστις ἔστιν ἐκείνους τῆς ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσις. Theodoret. de Prov. Serm. 1. And yet he also afterward acknowledgeth they had that definition from the Greeks. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πίστιν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι φιλόσοφοι ὥρισαντο εἶναι ἰδιαιότητα τῆς ψυχῆς συγκατάθεσιν. Credo est cum assensu cogitare, St. August. Et de Sp. et Lit. cap. Quid est credere, nisi consentire verum esse quod dicitur? So I take the συγκατάθεσις used by the Greek fathers to signify assensum or assensionem, as A. Gellius translateth the Stoic, συγκατατίθεσθαι, sub assensione

approbat, l. xix. 1. and before him Cicero, Nunc de assensione atque approbatione, quam Græci συγκατάθεσιν vocant, pauca dicamus. In Lucullo. So ἀπιστία and συγκατάθεσις are opposed by the Greeks. As Sextus Empiricus, speaking of Admetus, seeing Alcestis brought back by Hercules from Hades. Ἐπὶ μύητοι ᾗδαι ὅτι τίθεται περισσώτερον αὐτοῦ ἢ διάνα ἀπὸ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως, καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν ἔλπει. Pyrrh. Hypot. l. i. 33.

† Φιλαλήθης ἡ ψυχὴ οὐδένων κατὰ τὸ ψεύδος ἀνυχρόμεν διατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φανὲν ἀληθείας πάντως καὶ λυθῆ. Simplic. in 3. Arist. de Anima. Καὶ τις τάλανθις σιωπῇ, ἰσχύσει τὴν ἀθροικον φύσιν διαβιβλημένη μὲν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ψεύδους συγκατάθεσιν, ἔχοντα δὲ ἀφορμὰς πρὸς πίστιν τάλανθις. Cl. Alex. l. ii. Strom.

‡ As συγκατάθεσις the Greek word used for this assent is applied to other acts of the understanding as well as that of belief, so Clemens Alexandrinus speaking

as well as to faith, must be specified by its proper object, and so limited and determined to its proper act, which is the other part left to complete the definition.

This object of faith is expressed by that which is credible; for every one who believeth any thing, doth thereby without question assent unto it as to that which is credible: and therefore all belief whatsoever is such a kind of assent. But though all belief be an assent to that which is credible, yet every such assent may not be properly faith; and therefore those words make not the definition complete. For he that sees an action done, knows it to be done, and therefore assents unto the truth of the performance of it because he sees it: but another person to whom he relates it, may assent unto the performance of the same action, not because himself sees it, but because the other relates it; in which case that which is credible is the object of faith in one, of evident knowledge in the other. To make the definition therefore full, besides the material object or thing believed, we have added the formal object, or that whereby it is properly believed, expressed in the last term, *as credible*, which being taken in, it then appears, that, First, Whosoever believeth any thing, assenteth to something which is to him credible, and that as it is credible; and again, whosoever assenteth to any thing which is credible, as it is credible, believeth something by so assenting: which is sufficient to shew the definition complete.

But for the explication of the same, farther observations will be necessary. For if that which we believe be something which is credible, and the notion under which we believe be the credibility of it, then must we first declare what it is to be credible, and in what credibility doth consist, before we can understand what is the nature of belief.

Now that is properly credible which is not apparent of itself, nor certainly to be collected, either antecedently by its cause, or reversely by its effect; and yet, though by none of these ways, hath the attestation of a truth. For those things which are apparent of themselves, are either so in

of the definition of faith, ἄλλοι δ' ἀφανῶς μὲν αὐτὶ γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, συγκατάθεσις
πράγματος ἰσχυρὴν συγκατάθεσιν ἀπιδόκεαν ἔστιν· ἢ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πίστις εἶναι ἂν ἢ τε
εἶναι τὴν πίστιν, ὥστε ἀμέλει τὴν ἀπιδόξιν ἀπιστία, ἀποσύστασις ὅσα τῆς πίστεως,
ἀγνωμῆν πρᾶγματος φανεράν συγκατάθεσιν δυνατὴν δεικνύει τὴν συγκατάθεσιν τε καὶ
δοτῶν. i. ii. And again, Πᾶσα εἰς δόξα, πίστις.
καὶ κρίσις, καὶ ἐκλόγησις ὡς ζῶμεν καὶ σίνο-

respect of our sense, as that snow is white, and fire is hot; or in respect of our understanding, as that the whole of any thing is greater than any one part of the whole; that every thing imaginable, either is, or is not. The first kind of which being propounded to our sense, one to the sight, the other to the touch, appear of themselves immediately true, and therefore are not termed *credible*, but evident to sense; as the latter kind, propounded to the understanding, are immediately embraced and acknowledged as truths apparent in themselves, and therefore are not called *credible*, but *evident* to the understanding. And so those things which are * apparent, are not said properly to be believed, but to be known.

Again, other things, though not immediately apparent in themselves, may yet appear most certain and evidently true, by an immediate and necessary connexion with something formerly known: for, being every natural cause actually applied doth necessarily produce its own natural effect, and every natural effect wholly dependeth upon, and absolutely presupposeth its own proper cause; therefore there must be an immediate connexion between the cause and its effect. From whence it follows, that if the connexion be once clearly perceived, the effect will be known in the cause, and the cause by the effect. And by these ways, proceeding from principles evidently known by consequences certainly concluding, we come to the knowledge of propositions in mathematics, and conclusions in other sciences: which propositions and conclusions are not said to be *credible*, but *scientific*; and the comprehension of them is not *faith*, but *science*.

Besides, some things there are, which, though not evident of themselves, nor seen by any necessary connexion to their causes or effects, notwithstanding appear to most as true by some external relations to other truths; but yet so, as the appearing truth still leaves a possibility of falsehood with it, and therefore doth but incline to an *assent*. In which case, whatsoever is thus apprehended, if it depend upon real arguments, is not yet called *credible*, but *probable*; and an assent to such a truth is not properly *faith*, but *opinion*.

But when any thing propounded to us is neither apparent to our sense, nor evident to our understanding, in and of

* Apparentia non habent fidem, sed de videt verum esse quod nondum visionem. Greg. Dial. cap. 5. Habet de, et quibus certissime videt, nondum Fides oculos suos, quibus quodammodo se videre quod credit. St. August. Ep. 222.

itself, neither certainly to be collected from any clear and necessary connexion with the cause from which it proceedeth, or the effects which it naturally produceth, nor is taken up upon any real arguments, or reference to other acknowledged truths, and yet notwithstanding appeareth to us true, not by a manifestation, but attestation of the truth, and so moveth us to assent not of itself, but by virtue of the testimony given to it: this is said* properly to be credible; and an assent unto this, upon such credibility, is in the proper notion *faith* or *belief*.

Having thus defined and illustrated the nature of faith in general, so far as it agreeth to all kinds of belief whatsoever, our method will lead us on to descend by way of division, to the several kinds thereof, till at last we come to the proper notion of faith in the Christian's confession, the design of our present disquisition; and being we have placed the formality of the object of all belief in credibility, it will clearly follow, that diversity of credibility in the object, will proportionably cause a distinction of assent in the understanding, and consequently a several kind of faith, which we have supposed to be nothing else but such an assent.

Now the *credibility* of objects, by which they appear fit to be believed, is distinguishable according to the diversities of its foundation, that is, according to the different authority of the testimony on which it depends: for we having no other certain means of assuring ourselves of the truth, and consequently no other motives of our assent in matters of mere belief, than the *testimony* upon which we believe; if there be any fundamental distinction in the authority of the testimony, it will cause the like difference in the assent, which must needs bear a proportion to the authority of the testimony, as being originally and essentially founded upon it. It is therefore necessary next to consider, in what the authority of a testimony consisteth, and so to descend to the several kinds of testimonies founded upon several authorities.

The strength and validity of every testimony must bear proportion with the † authority of the testifier; and the authority of the testifier is founded upon his ability and integrity: his *ability* in the knowledge of that which he deli-

* Αἱ διὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ῥᾶδιον πίστις. τα πιστεύμενα τούτοις δ' ἴσθιν, ἂν ἀγαθὸς φαίηται, ἢ εὖνους, ἢ ἀμφο. Aristot. Rhet. i. i. c. 8.

Aristot. probl. 18. 3.

† Τῷ γὰρ πῶς τινὰ φαίνοσθαι τὸν λέγον-

l. i. c. 8.

vereth and asserteth; his *integrity* in delivering and asserting according to his knowledge: for two several ways he which relateth or testifieth any thing may deceive us: one, by being ignorant of the truth, and so upon that ignorance mistaking, he may think that to be true which is not so, and consequently deliver that for truth which in itself is false, and so deceive himself and us; or if he be not ignorant, yet if he be dishonest or unfaithful, that which he knows to be false he may propound and assert to be a truth, and so, though himself be not deceived, he may deceive us. And by each of these ways, for want either of ability or integrity in the testifier, whoso grounds his assent unto any thing as a truth, upon the testimony of another, may equally be deceived.

But whosoever is so *able* as certainly to know the truth of that which he delivereth, and so *faithful* as to deliver nothing but what and as he knoweth, he, as he is not deceived, so deceiveth no man. So far, therefore, as any person testifying appeareth to be knowing of the thing he testifies, and to be faithful in the relation of what he knows, so far his testimony is acceptable, so far that which he testifieth is properly *credible*. And thus the authority of every testifier or relater is grounded upon these two foundations, his *ability* and *integrity*.

Now there is in this case, so far as it concerns our present design, * a double testimony: the testimony of man to man, relying upon human authority, and the testimony of God to man, founded upon Divine authority: which two kinds of testimony are respective grounds of two kinds of credibility, human and Divine; and, consequently, there is a twofold faith distinguished by this double object, a human and a Divine faith.

Human faith is an assent unto any thing credible merely upon the testimony of man. Such is the belief we have of the words and affections one of another. And upon this kind of faith we proceed in the ordinary affairs of our life; according to the opinion we have of the ability and fidelity of him who relates or asserts any thing we believe or disbelieve. By this a friend assureth himself of the affection

* Testimoniorum quæ sunt genera? Divinum et humanum. Divinum, ut oracula, ut auspicia, ut vaticinationes, et responsa sacerdotum, aruspicum, conjectoræ: humanum, quod spectatur ex auctoritate, et ex voluntate, et ex oratione aut libera aut expressa; in quo insunt scripta, pacta, promissa, jurata, quesita. Cicero. Orat. Partit.

of his friend; by this the * son acknowledgeth his father, and upon this is his obedience wrought. By virtue of this human faith it is that we doubt not at all of those things which we never saw, by reason of their distance from us, either by time or place. Who doubts whether there be such a country as Italy, or such a city as Constantinople, though he never passed any of our four seas? Who questions now whether there were such a man as Alexander in the east, or Cæsar in the west? And yet the latest of these hath been beyond the possibility of the knowledge of man these sixteen hundred years. There is no † science taught without original belief, there are no ‡ letters learnt without preceding faith. There is no justice executed, no commerce maintained, no business prosecuted, without this; § all secular affairs are transacted, all great achievements are attempted, all hopes, desires, and inclinations are preserved, by this human faith grounded upon the testimony of man.

In which case we all by easy experience may observe the nature, generation, and progress, of *belief*. For in any thing which belongeth to more than ordinary knowledge, we believe not him whom we think to be ignorant, nor do we assent the more for his assertion, though never so confidently delivered: but if we have a strong opinion of the knowledge and skill of any person, what he affirmeth within the compass of his knowledge, that we readily assent unto; and while we have no other ground but his affirmation, this *assent* is properly *belief*. Whereas, if it be any matter of concernment in which the interest of him that relateth or affirmeth any thing to us is considerable, there it is not the skill or knowledge of the relater which will satisfy us, except we have as strong an opinion of his fidelity and integrity: but if we think him so just and honest, that he has no design upon us, nor will affirm any thing contrary to his knowledge for any gain or advantage, then we readily assent unto his affirmations; and this *assent* is our *belief*. Seeing then our

* Non dicant non credimus quia non vidimus; quoniam si hæc dicant, coguntur fateri incertos sibi esse Parentes suos.

De fide rerum invisib. amongst the works of St. Augustin. Αὐτὸν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οἶδε τοῦ πατρὸς ἰδέσθαι. Ἀλλ' ὁποιοῦμεν πάντες, ἢ πιστεύομεν. Menander apud Stob.

† Ἐποδοῦμεν μέντοι καὶ κηρώς τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἢ πίστεως. Theodor. Therap. 1.

‡ Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα μαθεῖν οἶόν τε μὴ τῷ γραμματιστῇ πιστωμένῳ. Ibid.

§ Πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τελούμενα, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ πίστει τελεῖται. Cyril. Catech. v. Orig. cont. Celsum, l. i. Eus. de præp. Evang. l. i. c. 5. Arnob. adver. Gen. l. ii.

belief relies upon the ability and integrity of the relater, and being the knowledge of all men is imperfect, and the hearts of all men are deceitful, and so their integrity to be suspected, there can be no infallible universal ground of *human faith*.

But what satisfaction we cannot find in the testimony of man, we may receive in the testimony of God;* “If we receive the witness of man, the witness of God is greater.” Yea, “let God be true,” the ground of our *divine*, “and every man a liar,” the ground of our *human faith*.

As for the other member of the division, we may now plainly perceive that it is thus to be defined. Divine faith is an assent unto something as credible upon the testimony of God. This assent is the highest kind of faith, because the object hath the highest credibility, because grounded upon the testimony of God, which is infallible. Balaam could tell Balak thus much, “God is not a man, that he should lie;” (Numb. xxiii. 19.) and a better prophet confirmed the same truth to Saul; “The Strength of Israel will not lie;” (1 Sam. xv. 29.) and because he will not, because he cannot, he is the Strength of Israel, even “my God, my strength, in whom I will trust.” (Psal. xviii. 2.)

For, First, God is of infinite knowledge and wisdom, as Hannah hath taught us, “The Lord is a God of knowledge,” (1 Sam. ii. 3. *אל רעות ידוה* LXX. Θεός γνώσεων κύριος) or rather, if our language will bear it, of *knowledges*, which are so plural, or rather infinite in their plurality, that the Psalmist hath said, “Of his understanding there is no number.” (Psal. cxlvii. 5. In the Heb. *לרבנותו אין מספר*) He knoweth therefore all things, neither can any truth be hidden from his knowledge, who is essentially truth, and essentially knowledge, and, as so, the cause of all other truth and knowledge. Thus the understanding of God is infinite in respect of comprehension,† and not so only, but of certainty also and evidence. Some things we are said to know which are but obscurely known, we see them but as in a glass or through a cloud: but “God is light, and in him is no darkness at all:” (1 John i. 5.) he seeth without any

* 1 John v. 9. Rom. iii. 4. Quam indignum, ut humanis testimoniis de alio credamus: Dei oraculis de se non credamus! St. Ambros. l. de Abraham, c. 3. Πᾶς δ' οὐκ εὐλογώτερον, πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πιστώεις ἡγετημένον ἑαυτῶν, μᾶλλον πισ-

τεύειν τῷ Θεῷ; Orig. cont. Cels. l. i.

† Cujus sapientia simpliciter multiplex, et uniformiter multiformis, incomprehensibili comprehensione omnia incomprehensibilia comprehendit. St. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l. xii. c. 18.

obscurity, and whatsoever is propounded to his understanding is most clear and evident ; “ neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight ; but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.” (Heb. iv. 13.) Wherefore, being all things are within the compass of his knowledge ; being all things which are so, are most clear and evident unto him ; being the knowledge he hath of them is most certain and infallible ; it inevitably followeth that he cannot be deceived in any thing.

Secondly, The justice of God is equal to his knowledge, nor is his holiness inferior to his wisdom : “ A God of truth (saith Moses), and without iniquity, just and right is he.” (Deut. xxxii. 4.) From which internal, essential, and infinite rectitude, goodness, and holiness, followeth an impossibility to declare or deliver that for truth which he knoweth not to be true. For if it be against that finite purity and integrity which are required of man, to lie, and therefore sinful, then must we conceive it absolutely inconsistent with that transcendent purity and infinite integrity which are essential unto God. Although therefore the power of God be infinite, though he can do all things ; yet we may safely say, without any prejudice to his omnipotence,* that he cannot speak that for truth which he knoweth to be otherwise.† For the perfections of his will are as necessarily infinite as those of his understanding ; neither can he be unholy or unjust, more than he can be ignorant or unwise. “ If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself.” (2 Tim. ii. 13.) Which words of the apostle, though properly belonging to the promises of God, yet are as true in respect of his assertions ; neither should he more deny himself in violating his fidelity, than in contradicting his veracity. It is true, that “ God willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath ; that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation :” (Heb. vi. 17, 18.) but it is as true, that all this confirmation is only for our consolation ; otherwise it is as impossible for God to lie, without an oath, as with one ; for being he can

* Διότι διὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς πάντα ὁ Θεός, ἔστι δυνάμενος, τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, καὶ σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ἐξίσταται. Orig. contra Celsum.

† Si velint invenire quod omnipotens non potest ; habent prorsus, ego dicam, mentiri non potest. St. August. de Civ. Dei, l. xxii. c. 25.

“swear by no greater, he sweareth only by himself,” (Heb. vi. 13.) and so the strength even of the oath of God relieth upon the veracity of God. Wherefore being God, as God is of infinite rectitude, goodness, and holiness; being it is manifestly repugnant to his purity, and inconsistent with his integrity, to deliver any thing contrary to his knowledge, it clearly followeth, that he cannot deceive any man.

It is therefore most infallibly certain, that God being infinitely wise, cannot be deceived;* being infinitely good, cannot deceive:† and upon these two immoveable pillars standeth the authority of the testimony of God. For since we cannot doubt of the witness of any one, but by questioning his ability, as one who may be ignorant of that which he affirmeth, and so deceived; or by excepting against his integrity, as one who may affirm that which he knoweth to be false, and so have a purpose to deceive us: where there is no place for either of these exceptions, there can be no doubt of the truth of the testimony. But where there is an intrinsical ‡ repugnancy of being deceived in the understanding, and of deceiving in the will, as there certainly is in the understanding and will of God, there can be no place for either of those exceptions, and consequently there can be no doubt of the truth of that which God testifieth. And whosoever thinketh any thing comes from him, and assenteth not unto it, must necessarily deny him to be wise or holy: “He that believeth not God (said the apostle) hath made him a liar.” (1 John v. 10.) That truth then which is testified by God, hath a *Divine credibility*: and an *assent* unto it, as so *credible*, is Divine faith. In which the material object is the doctrine which God delivereth, the formal object is that credibility founded on the authority§ of the deliverer. And this I conceive the true nature of *Divine faith* in general.

Now being the credibility of all which we believe is founded upon the testimony of God, we can never be suffi-

* Ut sit omnium potens, mori non potest, falli non potest, mentiri non potest. *August. de Symb. ad Catechum.*

† Deus facere fraudem nescit, pati non potest. *Chrysol. Sermon. 62.*

‡ Autoritas dei consistit in intrinseca repugnantia deceptionis seu falsitatis quam habet divinum iudicium, et in intrinseca repugnantia actus voluntatis imperantis testimonium extrinsecum non

consentiens iudicio interno; quæ per terminos positivos actus intellectus infallibiliter veri, et actus voluntatis intrinsece et necessario recti, poterit explicari. *Francis. de Ovid. Tract. de Fide Contr. ii. pun. 2.*

§ Divina est auctoritas cui credimus: divina est doctrina quam sequimur. *Leo, Sermon. 7. in Nativ.*

ciently instructed in the notion of faith, till we first understand how this testimony is given to those truths which we now believe. To this end it will be necessary to give notice that the testimony of God is not given unto truths before questioned or debated; nor are they such things as are first propounded and doubted of by man, and then resolved and confirmed by interposing the authority of God: but he is then said to witness when he doth propound, and his testimony is given by way of revelation, which is nothing else but the delivery or speech of God unto his creatures. And therefore upon a diversity of delivery must follow a difference, though not of faith itself, yet of the means and manner of assent.

Wherefore it will be farther necessary to observe, that Divine revelation is of two kinds, either immediate, or mediate. An immediate revelation is that by which God delivereth himself to man by himself, without the intervention of man. A mediate revelation is the conveyance of the counsel of God unto man by man. By the first he spake unto the prophets; by the second in the prophets, and by them unto us. Being then there is this difference between the revealing of God unto the prophets and to others, being the faith both of prophets and others relieth wholly upon Divine revelation, the * difference of the manner of assent in these several kinds of believers will be very observable for the explanation of the nature of our faith.

Those then to whom God did immediately speak himself, or by an angel representing God, and so being in his stead, and bearing his name (of which I shall need here to make no distinction), those persons, I say, to whom God did so reveal himself, did, by virtue of the same revelation, perceive, know, and assure themselves, that he who spake to them was God; so that at the same time they clearly understood both what was delivered, and by whom: otherwise we cannot imagine that Abraham would have slain his son, or have

* Sicut duplex est auditus et locutio, scilicet exterior sive corporalis, et interior ac spiritualis; ita duplex est fides, una quæ oritur in cordibus fidelium per auditum exteriorem, cum scil. Deus per aliquos homines aliis credenda proponit; et ista est fides quæ nobis sive communi statui fidelium convenit, ex eo quod adheremus revelationibus Prophetis et

Apostolis factis: alia est quæ oritur in aliquibus per spiritualem locutionem, qua Deus aliquibus per internam inspirationem credenda revelat, nullo hominis ministerio utens; sicut est fides Apostolorum et prophetarum, qui ab ipso Deo per intrinsecam illuminationem sunt de credendis instructi. Francis. Ferrariensis in Thom. cont. Gent. c. 40.

been commended for such a resolution, had he not been most assured that it was God who by an immediate revelation of his will clearly commanded it. Thus "by faith Noah being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house:" (Heb. xi. 7.) which * warning of God was a clear revelation of God's determination to drown the world, of his will to save him and his family, and of his command for that end to build an ark. And this Noah so received from God, as that he knew it to be an oracle of God, and was as well assured of the author as informed of the command. Thus the judgments hanging over Judah were revealed in the ears of Isaiah "by the Lord of hosts." (Isai. xxii. 14.) Thus "the Lord revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh:" (1 Sam. iii. 21.) at first indeed he knew him not; that is, when the Lord spake, he knew it not to be the voice of God: "Now Samuel did not yet know the Lord; neither was the word of the Lord yet revealed unto him;" (1 Sam. iii. 7.) but after that he knew him, and was assured that it was He who spake unto him, the Scripture teaching us that the † ears of Samuel were revealed, and the ‡ word of God revealed, and § God himself revealed to him. By all which we can understand no less, than that Samuel was so illuminated in his prophecies, that he fully understood the words or things themselves which were delivered, and as certainly knew that the deliverer was God: so Samuel the seer, so the rest of those prophets believed those truths revealed to them by such a faith as was a firm assent unto an object credible upon the immediate testimony of God.

But those faithful people to whom the prophets spake, believed the same truth, and upon the testimony of the same God, delivered unto them not by God, but by those prophets, whose words they therefore assented unto as certain truths, because they were assured that what the prophets spake was immediately revealed to them by God himself, without which assurance no faith could be expected from

* *πλάττει χρηματισθεῖς*, which word comes from the original *χράω*, appropriated by the Greeks to an oracle, or answer given by God, *ὁ μὲν Θεὸς χρεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος μαντεύεται*. *Moschopolus*.
 † *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 ‡ *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 § *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †

ידוה אלו אתן שמואל †
 ‡ *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 § *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 ix. 15.

† *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 ‡ *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 § *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 1 Sam. iii. 7.

§ *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 ‡ *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 § *ידוה אלו אתן שמואל* †
 1 Sam. iii. 21.

them. When God appeared unto Moses "in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush," (Exod. iii. 2.) and there immediately revealed to him first himself, saying, "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," and then his will to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, Moses clearly believed God both in the revelation of himself and of his will, and was fully satisfied that the Israelites should be delivered, because he was assured it was God who promised their deliverance: yet, notwithstanding, still he doubted whether the Israelites would believe the same truth, when it should be delivered to them, not immediately by God, but by Moses; "And Moses answered and said, But behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee." (Exod. iv. 1.) Which words of his first suppose, that if they had heard the voice of God, as he had, they would have assented to the truth upon a testimony Divine; and then as rationally affirm, that it was improbable they should believe, except they were assured it was God who promised, or think that God had promised by Moses, only because Moses said so. Which rational objection was clearly taken away, when God endued Moses with power of evident and undoubted miracles; for then the rod which he carried in his hand was as infallible a sign to the Israelites, that God had appeared unto him, as the flaming bush was to himself; and therefore they who saw in his hand God's omnipotency, could not suspect in his tongue God's veracity; insomuch as when Aaron became to Moses "instead of a mouth," and Moses to Aaron "instead of God," (Exod. iv. 16.) "Aaron spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people, and the people believed." (Exod. iv. 30, 31.) For being persuaded by a lively and active presence of omnipotency that God had appeared unto Moses, and what was delivered to them by him, came to him from God, and being sufficiently assured out of the very sense and notion of a Deity, that whatsoever God should speak, must of necessity be true, they presently assented, "and believed the Lord and his servant Moses;" (Exod. xiv. 31.) Moses as the immediate propounder, God as the original revealer: they believed Moses that God had revealed it, and they believed the promise, because God had revealed it. So

that the faith both of Moses and the Israelites was grounded upon the same testimony or revelation of God, and differed only in the proposition or application of the testimony; Moses receiving it immediately from God himself, the Israelites mediately by the ministry of Moses.

In the like manner the succeeding prophets were the instruments of Divine revelation, which they first believed as revealed to them, and then the people as revealed by them: for what they delivered was not the testimony of man, but the testimony of God delivered by man. It was he who "spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which have been since the world began:" (Luke i. 70.) the mouth, the instrument, the articulation, was theirs; but the words were God's. "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me," saith David, (2 Sam. xxiii. 2.) "and his word was in my tongue." (1 Kings viii. 53.) It was the word of the Lord, which he "spake by the hand of Moses, and by the hand of his servant Ahijah the prophet." (1 Kings xiv. 18.) The hand the general instrument of man, the mouth the particular instrument of speech, both attributed to the prophets as merely instrumental in their prophecies. The words which Balaam's ass spake were as much the ass's words, as those which Balaam spake were his; for "the Lord opened the mouth of the ass," (Numb. xxii. 28.) and "the Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth;" (Numb. xxiii. 5.) and not only so, but a bridle with that word, "only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak." (Numb. xxii. 35.) The prophets, as they did not frame the notions or conceptions themselves of those truths which they delivered from God, so did they not loosen their own tongues of their own instinct, or upon their own motion, but as moved, impelled, and acted by God. So we may, in correspondence to the antecedent and subsequent words, interpret those words of St. Peter, that "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation:" (*ἰδίας ἐρμηνείας*. 2 Pet. i. 20.) that is, that no prophecy which is written did so proceed from the prophet who spake or wrote it, that he of himself, or by his own instinct, did open his mouth to prophesy; but that all prophetic revelations came from God alone, and that whosoever first delivered them was antecedently inspired by him, as it followeth, "for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." That

therefore which they delivered was the word, the revelation of God ; which they assented unto as to a certain and infallible truth, credible upon the immediate testimony of God, and to which the rest of the believers assented upon the same testimony of God immediately delivered by the hands of the prophets.

Thus God, " who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets," (Heb. i. 1.) and by so speaking propounded the object of faith both to the prophets and the fathers, " hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son," (Heb. i. 2.) and by speaking hath enlarged the object of faith to us by him, by which means it comes to be the " faith of Jesus." (Rev. xiv. 12.) Thus the " only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, (John i. 18.) the express image of his person, (Heb. i. 3.) he in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, (Col. i. 19.) he in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," (Col. ii. 9.) revealed the will of God to the apostles; who being assured that he knew all things, and convinced that he came forth from God, (John xvi. 30.) gave a full and clear assent unto those things which he delivered, and grounded their faith upon his words, as upon the immediate testimony of God. " I have given unto them (saith Christ unto his Father) the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed, that thou didst send me." (John xvii. 8.) Besides this delivery of these words by Christ to the apostles, they received the promise of the " Spirit of truth, who should guide them into all truth, (John xvi. 13.) and teach them all things, and bring all things into their remembrance whatsoever Christ hath said unto them." (John xiv. 26.) So clearly, so fully, so constantly, were they furnished with Divine illuminations, and revelations from God, upon which they grounded their own faith; that each of them might well make that profession of St. Paul, " I know whom I have believed." (2 Tim. i. 12.) Thus the faith of the apostles, as of Moses and the prophets, was grounded upon the immediate revelations of God.

But those believers to whom the apostles preached, and whom they converted to their faith, believed the same truths which were revealed to the apostles, though they were not

so revealed to them as they were unto the apostles, that is, immediately from God. But as the Israelites believed those truths which Moses spake to come from God, being convinced by the constant supply of miracles wrought by the rod which he carried in his hand: so the blessed apostles, being so plentifully endued from above with the power of miracles, gave sufficient testimony that it was God who spake by their mouths, who so evidently wrought by their hands. They who heard St. Peter call a lame man unto his legs, speak a dead man alive, and strike a living man to death with his tongue, as he did Ananias and Sapphira, might easily be persuaded that it was God who spake by his mouth, and conclude that where they found him in his omnipotency, they might well expect him in his veracity. These were the persons for whom our Saviour next to the apostles prayed, because by a way next to that of the apostles they believed. "Neither pray I for these alone (saith Christ), but for them also who shall believe on me through their word." (John xvii. 20.) Thus the apostles believed on Christ through his own word, and the primitive Christians believed on the same Christ through the apostles' word, and this distinction our Saviour himself hath clearly made; not that the word of the apostles was really distinct from the word of Christ, but only it was called theirs, because delivered by their ministry, otherwise it was the same word which they had heard from him, and upon which they themselves believed, "that which was from the beginning (saith St. John), which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life, that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you." (1 John i. 1. 3.) And this was the true foundation of faith in all them who believed, that they took not the words which they heard from the apostles to be the words of the men who spake them, no more than they did the power of healing the sick, or raising the dead, and the rest of the miracles, to be the power of them that wrought them; but as they attributed those miraculous works to God working by them, so did they also that saving word to the same God speaking by them. When St. Paul preached at Antioch, "almost the whole city came together to hear the word of God;" (Acts xiii. 44.) so they esteemed it, though they knew him a man whom they came to hear speak

it. This the apostle commendeth in the Thessalonians, that when they "received the word of God, which they heard of him; they received it not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth) the word of God;" (1 Thess. ii. 13.) and receiving it so, they embraced it as coming from him who could neither deceive nor be deceived, and consequently as infallibly true; and by so embracing it, they assented unto it, by so assenting unto it, they believed it, ultimately upon the testimony of God, immediately upon the testimony of St. Paul, as he speaks himself, "because our testimony among you was believed." (2 Thess. i. 10.) Thus the faith of those which were converted by the apostles was an assent unto the word as credible upon the testimony of God delivered to them by a testimony apostolical. Which being thus clearly stated, we may at last descend into our own condition, and so describe the nature of our own faith, that every one may know what it is to *believe*.

Although Moses was endued with the power of miracles, and conversed with God in the mount, and spake with him face to face at the door of the tabernacle: although upon these grounds the Israelites believed what he delivered to them as the word of God; yet neither the miracles nor Moses did for ever continue with them; and notwithstanding his death, they and their posterity to all generations were obliged to believe the same truths. Wherefore it is observable which St. Stephen saith, "he received the lively oracles to give unto them;" (Acts vii. 38.) the decalogue he received from the hand of God, "written with the finger of God;" the rest of the Divine patefactions he wrote himself; and so delivered them not a mortal word to die with him, but "living oracles," (*Λόγια Ζώντα*) to be in force when he was dead, and oblige the people to a belief, when his rod had ceased to broach the rocks and divide the seas. Neither did he only tie them to a belief of what he wrote himself, but by foretelling and describing the prophets which should be raised in future ages, he put a farther obligation upon them to believe their prophecies as the revelations of the same God. Thus all the Israelites, in all ages, believed Moses, while he lived, by believing his words; after his death, by believing his writings. "Had ye believed Moses, (saith our Saviour,) ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?"

(John v. 46, 47.) Wherefore the faith of the Israelites in the land of Canaan was an assent unto the truths of the law as credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto them in the writings of Moses and the prophets.

In the like manner is it now with us. For although Christ first published the gospel to those "who beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father;" (John i. 14.) although the apostles first converted those unto the faith who heard them speak with tongues they never learned, they never heard before, and discover the thoughts of men they never saw before; who saw the lame to walk, the blind to see, the dead to revive, and the living to expire at their command: yet did not these apostles prolong their lives by virtue of that power which gave such testimony to their doctrine, but rather shortened them by their constant attestation to the truth of that doctrine farther confirmed by their death. Nor did that power of frequent and ordinary miraculous operations long survive them; and yet they left as great an obligation upon the church in all succeeding ages to believe all the truths which they delivered, as they had put upon those persons who heard their words and saw their works; because they wrote the same truths which they spake, assisted in writing by the same Spirit by which they spake, and therefore require the same readiness of assent so long as the same truths shall be preserved by those writings. While Moses lived and spake as a mediator between God and the Israelites, they believed his words, and so the prophets while they preached. When Moses was gone up to Mount Nebo, and there died, when the rest of the prophets were gathered to their fathers, they believed their writings, and the whole object of their faith was contained in them. When the Son of God came into the world to reveal the will of his Father, when he made known unto the apostles, as his "friends, all things that he had heard of the Father," (John xv. 15.) then did the apostles believe the writings of Moses and the prophets, and the words of Christ, and in these taken together was contained the entire object of their faith, "and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said." (John ii. 22.) When Christ was ascended up into heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when the words which Christ had taught the apostles were preached by them, and many thousand souls converted to the faith, they believed the writings of the pro

phets and the words of the apostles; and in these two was comprised the complete object of their faith. When the apostles themselves departed out of this life, and confirmed the truth of the gospel preached by the last of sufferings, their death, they left the sum of what they had received, in writing, for the continuation of the faith in the churches which they had planted, and the propagation thereof in other places, by those that succeeded them in their ordinary function, but were not to come near them in their extraordinary gifts. "These things were written, (saith St. John, the longest liver, and the latest writer,) that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name," (John xx. 31.)

Those Christians then which have lived since the apostles' death, and never obtained the wish of St. Augustine, to see either Christ upon earth, or St. Paul in the pulpit, have believed the writings of Moses and the prophets, of the apostles and evangelists, in which together is fully comprehended whatsoever may properly be termed matter of Divine faith; and so "the household of God is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,"* who are continued unto us only in their writings, and by them alone convey unto us the truths which they received from God, upon whose testimony we believe. And therefore he which put their writings into the definition of faith, considering faith as it now stands with us, is none of the smallest of the schoolmen.† From whence we may at last conclude, that the true nature of the faith of a Christian, as the state of Christ's church now stands, and shall continue to the end of the world, consists in this, that it is an assent unto truths credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto us in the writings of the apostles and prophets.

To *believe* therefore as the word stands in the front of the CREED, and not only so, but is diffused through every article and proposition of it, is to assent to the whole and every part of it, as to a certain and infallible truth revealed by God (who by reason of his infinite knowledge cannot be deceived, and by reason of his transcendent holiness cannot deceive),

* Eph. ii. 20. Prophetæ et Apostoli, † Fides est habitus quo assentimus super quos omnium Ecclesiarum fundatæ scripturæ propter auctoritatem menta locantur. S. Hieron. in Psal. xvii. Dei revelantis. Durand. l. iii. Dist. 24. Super Prophetas ædificatur orbis terrarum, credens in Domino. Ruff. ib. q. 1. §. 9.

and delivered unto us in the writings of the blessed apostles and prophets immediately inspired, moved and acted by God, out of whose writings this brief sum of necessary points of faith was first collected.* And as this is properly to *believe*, which was our first consideration; so to say *I believe*, is to make a confession or external expression of the faith, which is the second consideration propounded.

Faith is a habit of the intellectual part of man, and therefore of itself invisible; and to believe is a spiritual act, and consequently immanent and internal, and known to no man but him who believeth: "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him?" (1 Cor. ii. 11.) Wherefore Christ being not only the great apostle, sent to deliver these revealed truths, and so the author of our faith, but also the head of the church, whose body consisteth of faithful members, and so the author of union and communion, which principally hath relation to the unity of faith, he must needs be imagined to have appointed some external expression and communication of it: especially considering that the sound of the apostles was to go forth unto the ends of the world, and all nations to be called to the profession of the gospel, and gathered into the church of Christ; which cannot be performed without an acknowledgment of the truth, and a profession of faith, without which no entrance into the church, no admittance to baptism. "What doth hinder me to be baptized? (saith the eunuch.) And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." (Acts viii. 36, 37.) So believing with all his heart, as Philip required, and making profession of that faith, he was admitted. "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."† The *belief* of the *heart* is the internal habit residing in the soul, an act of faith proceeding from it, but terminated in the same. The *confession* of the *mouth* is an external signification of the inward habit or act of faith, by words expressing an acknowledgment of those truths which we believe or assent to in

* Οὐχ ὡς ἰδοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνεῖδον τὰ τῆς πίστεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς τὰ καινὰ τὰ συλλεγόμενα μίαν ἀπαγγελίαν τῇ τῆς πίστεως διδασκαλίαν. Cyril. Catech. Ecclesiarum Patres de populorum salute solliciti, ex diversis voluminibus Scripturarum

collegerunt testimonia divinis graviora Sacramentis. Euseb. Gall. in Sym.

† Róm. x. 10. Habes, homo, unde credere debeas, corde fit confessio ad iustitiam; habes unde debeas confiteri, ore confessio fit ad salutem. Chrysost. S. 56.

our souls. *The ear receiveth the word, "faith cometh by hearing;" the ear conveyeth it to the heart, which being opened receiveth it, receiving believeth it; and then "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." (Matt. xii, 34.) In the heart faith is seated; with the tongue confession is made; between these two salvation is completed.† "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." (Rom. x. 9.) This *faith* of the heart every one ought, and is presumed to have; this confession of the *mouth* every one is known to make, when he pronounceth these words of the CREED, *I believe*; and if true, he may with comfort say, "the word of faith is nigh me, even in my mouth and in my heart:"‡ first in my heart really assenting, then in my mouth clearly and sincerely professing with the prophet David, "I have believed, therefore have I spoken." (Psal. cxvi. 10.) Thus briefly from the second consideration concerning confession implied in the first words *I believe*, we shall pass unto the third consideration, of the necessity and particular obligation to such a confession.

If there were no other argument, yet being the object of faith is supposed infallibly true, and acknowledged to be so by every one that believeth, being it is the nature of truth not to hide itself, but rather to desire the light that it might appear: this were sufficient to move us to a *confession* of our faith. But besides the nature of the thing, we shall find many arguments obliging, pressing, urging us to such a profession. For, first, from the same God, and by the same means by which we have received the object of our faith, by which we came under a possibility of faith, we have also received an express command to make a *confession* of the same: "Be ready, (saith St. Peter,) always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you;" (1 Pet. iii. 15.) and there can be no reason of hope but what is grounded on faith, nor can there be an answer

* Sermo creat auditum, auditus concipit fidem, credulitatem parurit fides, confessionem credulitas nutrit, confessio perpetuam dat salutem. *Chrysol. Serm. 60.*

† Magnum, filioli, per hoc fidei nostræ videmus esse compendium, quando inter eos et linguam totum salutis humanæ ver-

satur et geritur Sacramentum. *Chrysol. Serm. 56.* Quod a te et pro te reposcitur, intra te est, i. e. oris famulatus et cordis affectus. *Euseb. Gall.*

‡ Rom. x. 8. De hoc sine dubio legimus per Prophetam, prope est, inquit, in ore tuo, et in corde tuo. *Euseb. Gall.*

given unto that without an acknowledgment of this. Secondly, it is true, indeed, that the great promises of the gospel are made unto faith, and glorious things are spoken of it; but the same promises are made to the *confession of faith* (Rom x. 10.) together with it; and we know who it is hath said, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. x. 32.) Besides, the profession of the faith of one Christian confirmeth and edifieth another in his, and the mutual benefit of all layeth an obligation upon every particular. Again, the matters of faith contain so much purity of doctrine, persuade such holiness of life, describe God so infinitely glorious, so transcendently gracious, so loving in himself, so merciful in his Son, so wonderful in all his works, that the sole confession of it glorifieth God; and how can we expect to enter into that glory which is none of ours, if we deny God that glory which is his? Lastly, the concealing those truths which he hath revealed, the not acknowledging that faith which we are thought to believe, is so far from giving God that glory which is due unto him, that it dishonoureth the faith which it refuseth or neglecteth to profess, and casteth a kind of contumely upon the author of it, as if God had revealed that which man should be ashamed to acknowledge. Wherefore he that came to save us hath also said unto us, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy angels." (Luke ix. 26.) Such a necessity there is of confession of faith, in respect of God, who commanded it, and is glorified in it; in respect of ourselves, who shall be rewarded for it; and in respect of our brethren, who are edified and confirmed by it. Which necessity the wisdom of the church in former ages has thought a sufficient ground to command the recitation of the CREED at the first initiation into the church by baptism,* (for which

* Ὁ τὸν ναύτιον τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούσας ἐν ἑαυτῷ κερταίον τὸ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰσελάττει. *Iren.* l. i. c. 1. Cum sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponso salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur Ecclesiam mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est. *Tertul. de Baptis.* In quem tingere? in penitentiam? quo ergo illi

præcursorem? in peccatorum remissionem quam verbo dabat? in semetipsum, quem humilitate celabat? in Spiritum Sanctum qui nondum a Patre descenderat? in Ecclesiam, quam nondum Apostoli struxerant? *Id.* Dehinc ter mergimur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. *Id. de Cor. Mitit.* Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in

purpose it was taught and expounded to those which were to be baptized immediately * before the great solemnity of

Baptismo testis est veritatis, nam cum dicimus, Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam? intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari. *S. Cyprianus, ep. ad Januarium, &c.* Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum Legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo et nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propterea usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse quod videatur in interrogatione Baptismi a nobis non discrepare: sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, non esse unam nobis et schismaticis Symboli Legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, Credis remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam? mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam. *Idem Epist. ad Magnum.* Mos ibi (id est Romæ) servatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam Baptismi accepturi sunt, publico, i. e. fidei populo audiente, Symbolum reddere. *Ruffin. in Symb.* Solenne est in lavacro, post Trinitatis confessionem interrogare, Credis in Sanctam Ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum? *S. Hieron. contra Lucifer.* Mens Hæretica reliquit Doctorem a quo fidem Ecclesie didicerat, oblita est pacti Dei sui, hoc est, fidei ipsius Dominicæ quæ in Symbolo continetur, quam se die baptismatis servatorem esse promiserat. *Id. Com. in Prov.* Interrogatus es, Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? dixisti, Credo; et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in crucem ejus? dixisti, Credo, et mersisti, ideo et Christo es conceptus. Tertio interrogatus, Credis in Spiritum Sanctum? dixisti, Credo; tertio mersisti: ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolvet trina confessio. *Ambros. de Sacram. l. ii. c. 7.* Leo speaks thus of Eutyches in his Epistle to Flavianus, Quam enim eruditionem de sacris Novi et Veteris Testamenti paginis acquisivit, qui ne ipsius quidem Symboli initia comprehendit? et quod per totum mandum omnium regenerationum voce depremitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur. And in the 12. Book de Trinitate (formerly attributed to Athanasius, but more probably now thought to belong to Vigilius Tapsensis,) Neo non et illa magna et beata Confessio Fidei, imo ipsa Fides Sanctorum, et Testamentum quod disposuimus ad

Patrem; Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, ad sacrum lavacrum regenerationis venientes, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unigenitum, et in Spiritum Sanctum, καθὼς παραλάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ ἱεροβάπτισμῳ, Ruseb. of the Confession of Faith which he exhibited to the council of Nice. *Socr. l. i. c. 8. Theodor. l. i. c. 12.* Abrenuncio, inquis, Diabolo, pompis, spectaculis, et operibus ejus, et quid postea? Credo, inquis, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem. *Salvianus de Gubern. Dei, lib. vi.* And when this Creed was enlarged by the council of Nice, and after that by others, Epiphanius commends it to the Catechumeni, to be repeated at their baptism; οὕτως ἐλάστω τὴν κατηχώμενην τὴν πολλήν τῷ ἁγίῳ λουτρῷ προσέσαι, ὡς μὴν ἐπαγγέλλειν ὀφείλετε τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν υἱοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκων ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς πάντων ἡ αὐτῇ μήτηρ ἡμῶν τὴ καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ λῆγειν. πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, &c. *Epiph. in Anacoro.* And when he had yet further enlarged it by reason of some new emergent heresies, he commends it, μέλιστα τοῖς τῷ ἁγίῳ λουτρῷ προσέσαι, ἵνα ἀπαγγέλλωσι καὶ λέγωσιν οὕτως. *Id.* The first council of Constantinople confirms the Nicene confession, as ἀποστυγάτην τὴν εἶσαν καὶ ἀδόλοχον τῷ βαπτίσματι. *Theodor. lib. v. cap. 9.* And the council of Chalcedon of the same, ἐν, ὡς καὶ ἐξ ἁγίων συνόδων, τοῖς μνημονεύουσιν πρὸς τὴν τῆς υἰοθεσίας παραγγελίαν ἀσφάλειαν. *Parte tertia.* The Synod at Jerusalem, τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον εἰς ὃ ἱεραποστολὴν καὶ βαπτίζομεν. The Synod at Tyre, ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτισθέντες καὶ βαπτίζοντες. And the council of Constantinople under Mennas, to which the former sent their synodical letters, τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἱεραποστολὴν. *Concil. Constantinop. sub Agab. et Mennas, Act. 5.* Basiliscus and Marcus in two several edicts, confirmed the same Nicene Creed with these words, εἰς ὃ ἡμεῖς τὴ καὶ πάντες ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστεύοντες ἱεραποστολὴν. *Evagr. l. iii. cap. 4. et 7.* And the edict of the emperor Justinian, Anathematizaverant eos qui aliam definitionem fidei, sive Symbolum, sive Mathema, tradunt accedentibus ad sanctam baptismata.

* Ὅτι διὰ τοὺς φωτισμένους τὴν πίστιν ἱεροβάπτισαν, καὶ τῇ πύμπτῃ τῆς ἱεροβάπτισας ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἐπιστάτῳ ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. *Concil. Laodic. Can. 46.* Where it is to be observed that Πίστις is taken for the Creed or Symbolum Fidei, and was so translated anciently, as appeareth by the

Easter), and to require a particular *repetition of it publicly as often as the sacrament of the eucharist was administered, and a constant and perpetual inculcation of the same by the clergy to the people.†

And as this necessity is great, as the practice useful and advantageous; so is the obligation of believing and confessing particular, binding every single Christian, observing in the number and person expressed, *I believe*. As if Christ did question every one in particular, as he did him who was born blind, after he had restored him his sight (and we are all in his condition), "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" (John ix. 35. 38.) Every single Christian is taught to make the same answer which he made, *Lord, I believe*. As if the Son of God did promise to every one of them which are gathered together in his name, what he promised to one of the multitude, whose son had a dumb spirit, "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth;" (Mark ix. 17. 23, 24.) each one for himself returneth his answer, *Lord, I believe; Lord, help my unbelief*. Not*that it is unlawful or unfit to use another number, and instead of *I*, to say *We believe*: for in taking in of others, we exclude not ourselves; and addition of charity can be no disparagement to confession of faith. St. Peter answered for the twelve, "We believe, and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." (John vi. 69.) For though Christ immediately replied that one of them had a devil, yet is not St.

canon preserved in the canon law, and rendered thus, Baptizandos oportet Fidei Symbolum discere, et quinta feria ultimæ septimane vel Episcopo vel Presbyteris reddere. *De Consec. dist. 4. cap. 58.* Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Ecclesiis una die, i. e. ante octo dies Dominicæ resurrectionis, publice in Ecclesia competentibus prædicari. *Concil. Agath. cap. 13.* Sicut antiqui Canones jubent, ante viginti dies Baptismi ad purgationem exorcismi Catechumeni currant, in quibus viginti diebus omnino Catechumeni Symbolum, quod est, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, specialiter doceantur. *Concil. Bracar. 2. cap. 1.* The canon of the Laodicean Council, already mentioned, is verbatim rehearsed in the sixth council in Trullo. *Can. 78.* It appeareth therefore a general command of the church, that those who were to be baptized, should have a certain time allotted for the learning and rehearsing of the CREED. And in case of necessity, if any were baptized, they were to

learn the CREED immediately after their Baptism, *ἐν δὲ* (not as it is in the edition of Binius, both in this canon and in the former most absurdly, "Ὅτι εὖ δὲ" τοῖς θεοῖς παραλαβόντας τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ ἄλλα ἀποστόλας ἐμμανέαν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ γινώσκων ὅτι θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἰσθῆσαν. *Conc. Laod. Can. 47.*

* As appears in the ancient Greek Liturgies, and the Decrees of the third council of Toledo, ut omni sacrificii tempore ante communionem corporis Christi et sanguinis, juxta Orientalium partium morem, unanimiter clara voce sacratissimum fidei recenseat Symbolum. Which custom as they call it of the Oriental parts, is said first to be introduced by Petrus Mongus at Alexandria, and after by Timotheus at Constantinople, as appears out of the fragments of Theodorus Lector.

† Symbolum quod est signaculum fidei, et orationem Dominicam discere semper admoveant sacerdotes populum Christianum. *Concil. Mogunt. cap. 45.*

Peter blamed, who knew it not. But every one is taught to express his own faith, because by that he is to stand or fall. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" (James v. 16.) for the benefit of his brother, but his faith availeth nothing for the justification of another. And it is otherwise very fit that our faith should be manifested by a particular confession, because it is effectual by particular application; therefore must it needs be proper for me to say, *I believe*, and to make profession of my "faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." (Gal. ii. 20.)

Being then I have described the true nature and notion of *belief*, the duty of confessing our faith, and the obligation of every particular Christian to *believe* and to *confess*; being in these three explications all, which can be imaginably contained in the first word of the CREED, must necessarily be included; it will now be easy for me to deliver, and for every particular person to understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he begins his confession with these words, *I believe*, which I conceive may in *this* manner be fitly expressed.

Although those things which I am ready to affirm be not apparent to my sense; so that I cannot say I see them; although they be not evident to my understanding of themselves, nor appear unto me true by the virtue of any natural and necessary cause, so that I cannot say I have any proper knowledge or science of them; yet being they are certainly contained in the Scriptures, the writings of the blessed apostles and prophets; being those apostles and prophets were endued with miraculous power from above, and immediately inspired with the Holy Ghost, and consequently what they delivered was not the word of man, but God himself; being God is of that universal knowledge and infinite wisdom, that it is impossible he should be deceived; of that indefectible holiness and transcendent rectitude, that it is not imaginable he should intend to deceive any man, and consequently whatsoever he hath delivered for a truth must be necessarily and infallibly true; I readily and steadfastly assent unto them as most certain truths, and am as fully and absolutely, and more concerningly persuaded of them, than of any thing I see or know. And because that God who hath revealed them hath done it, not for my benefit only, but for the advantage of others, nor for that alone, but also for

the manifestation of his own glory ; being for those ends he hath commanded me to profess them, and hath promised an eternal reward upon my profession of them ; being every particular person is to expect the justification of himself, and the salvation of his soul, upon the condition of his own faith ; as with a certain and full persuasion I assent unto them, so with a fixed and undaunted resolution I will profess them ; and with this faith in my heart, and confession in my mouth, in respect of the whole body of the CREED, and every article and particle in it, I sincerely, readily, resolvedly say, *I believe*.

I believe in God.

Having delivered the nature of *faith*, and the act of *belief* common to all the articles of the CREED, that we may understand what it is to *believe* ; we shall proceed to the explication of the articles themselves, as the most necessary objects of our *faith*, that we may know what is chiefly to be believed. Where immediately we meet with another word as general as the former, and as universally concerned in every article, which is God ; for if to *believe* be to assent upon the testimony of God, as we have before declared, then wheresoever belief is expressed, or implied, there is also the name of God understood, upon whose testimony we *believe*. He therefore whose authority is the ground and foundation of the whole, his existence begins the CREED, as the foundation of that authority. For if there can be no Divine faith without the attestation of God, by which it alone becomes Divine, and there can be no such attestation, except there was an existence of the testifier, then must it needs be proper to begin the *confession* of our *faith* with the agnition of our God. If his * name were thought fit to be expressed in the front of every action, even by the heathen, because they thought no action prospered but by his approbation ; much more ought we to fix it before our *confession*, because without him to believe as we profess, is no less than a contradiction.

Now these words, *I believe in God*, will require a double consideration ; one, of the phrase or manner of speech ;

* Θεός, θεός : Ἐθες ἦν ὅταν κατάρχονται τινας, θεός λίαν ἐκρυφμαζομένους. Hesych, Lex.

another, of the thing or nature of the truth in that manner expressed. For to *believe* with an addition of the preposition *in*, is a phrase or expression ordinarily conceived fit to be given to none but to God himself, as always implying, beside a bare act of faith, an addition of hope, love, and affiance. An observation, as I conceive, prevailing especially in the Latin church, grounded principally upon the authority of St. Augustine.* Whereas among the Greeks, in whose language the New Testament was penned, I perceive no such constant distinction in their deliveries of the CREED; and in the Hebrew language† of the Old, from which the Jewish

* For Ser. 181. which is upon the CREED, we find these words: Non dicit, Credo Deum, vel Credo Deo, quamvis et hæc salutis necessaria sint. Aliud enim est credere illi, aliud credere illum; aliud credere in illum. Credere illi, est credere vera esse quæ loquitur; Credere illum, credere quia ipse est Deus; Credere in illum, diligere illum. And though that collection of Sermons *de tempore* under the name of St. Augustine be not all his (divers of them being translations of the Greek Homilies), yet this distinction may be collected out of other parts of his works. For, first, he distinguisheth very clearly and seriously between *credere Deo*, and *credere in Deum*. Nunquam aliquis Apostolorum dicere auderet, qui credit in me. Credimus Apostolo, sed non credimus in Apostolum, *Tract. 54. in Psalm.* And again, Credimus Paulo, sed non credimus in Paulum; credimus Petro, sed non credimus in Petrum. Secondly, he distinguisheth between *credere Deum*, and *credere in Deum*; Multum interest utrum quis credat ipsum esse Christum, et utrum credat in Christum. Ille credit in Christum qui et sperat in Christum, et diligit Christum. *De verbis Dom. Serm. 61.* And, which is the sum of all, he puts a high value upon the preposition, as if by virtue of the addition of *in*, the phrase did properly signify so great an accession unto faith. Quid est credere in Deum? Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et ejus membris incorporari, *Tract. 29. in Joh.* Which doctrine of St. Augustine's being taken notice of by Peter Lombard, hath since been continued by the schoolmen; and Aquinas, *Sum. 2. 22. q. 2. §. 2. ad primum*, bringing all three under one act of faith, hath been contradicted by Durand. in 3. *Sent. dis. 23. q. 7. §. 6.* Credere in Deum non est precise actus fidei, sed fidei et charitatis simul; et sunt

etiam plures, et non unus actus tantum. By whose subtle, but yet clear determination, (as many of his are beyond the rest of the schools), whatsoever is added by the preposition to *believe*, appears not to be a part of belief, but an act super-added to the act of faith.

† For כִּנְיָ is sometimes joined with לְ, sometimes with בְּ: when with לְ it answers properly to πιστεύειν τῷ Θεῷ, *credere Deo* לְ being nothing else but a signifier of the case; when with בְּ it corresponds to πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, *credere in Deum*; בְּ being a preposition of the same nature with εἰς or in.) But yet there is so little, or rather no difference in the Hebrew, that in the first place where it is used, and that of the Father of the Faithful, even for the act of justifying faith, וְאֵמַן בַּיהוָה Gen. xv. 6. it is translated by the LXX. καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραάμ τῷ Θεῷ, not εἰς τὸν Θεόν, and that translation warranted by St. Paul, Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 6. and St. James ii. 23. In the same manner, 2 Kings xvii. 4.

אֲשֶׁר לֹא הֶאֱמִינוּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם is translated by the LXX. (as that translation is preserved in the Alexandrian and Complutensian copies), οἱ οὖν ἐπίστευσαν κυρίῳ Θεῷ αὐτῶν. Besides, the same phrase is used in the same place both to God and to man, as Exod. xiv. 31. וְאֵמַן בַּיהוָה and they believed in God, and in his servant Moses; which the Chaldee paraphrase explaineth thus, וְהֵמָּנָה בְּשֵׁם מֹשֶׁה וְהֵמָּנָה בַּיהוָה and they believed in the word of God, and in the prophesy of Moses his servant. And וְאֵמַן בַּיהוָה

אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֵמַן בַּיהוָה 2 Chron. xx. 20. וְאֵמַן בַּיהוָה וְאֵמַן בַּיהוָה Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe in his prophets, so shall

and Christian Greeks received that phrase of *believing in*, it hath no such peculiar and accumulative signification. For it is sometimes attributed to God, the author and original cause; sometimes to the prophets, the immediate revealers of the faith; sometimes it is spoken of miracles, the motives to believe; sometimes of the law of God, the material object of our faith. Among all which varieties of that phrase of speech, it is sufficiently apparent that in this confession of faith it is most proper to admit it in the last acceptation, by which it is attributed to the material object of belief. For the CREED being nothing else but a brief comprehension of the most necessary matters of faith, whatsoever is contained in it beside the first word *I believe*, by which we make confession of our faith, can be nothing else but part of those verities to be believed, and the act of belief in respect to them, nothing but an assent unto them as divinely credible and infallible truths. Neither can we conceive that the ancient Greek fathers of the church could have any farther meaning in it, who make the whole body of the CREED to be of the same nature, as so many truths to be believed, acknowledged, and confessed; insomuch as sometimes they use not *believing in*,* neither for the Father, Son, nor Holy

ye prosper. For although the Vulgar Latin, which our translation followeth, hath made that distinction which the Hebrew maketh not, *Credite in Domino Deo vestro et securi eritis; credite prophetis ejus, et cuncta evenient prospera*: yet the Septuagint acknowledgeth no necessity of receding from the original phrase, *ἐμπιστάσασθαι ἐν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐμπιστάσασθαι ἐν προφήταις αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐδοθήσεσθε*. Nor is it only attributed to Moses as joined with God, and so taken as it were into the same phrase, but separated by himself, as Exod. xix. 9. "The Lord said unto Moses, Lo I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, **וְגַם בְּךָ יֵאֱמָנוּ לְעוֹלָם** and believe in thee for ever." And therefore when it was objected to St. Basil that they did believe in Moses, as well as that they were baptised unto Moses: and generally, *ἡ πίστις ἐμολόγηται ὅτι καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γέγονε*, the Father doth not deny the language, but interprets it, *ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἀναφέρεται*. De Sp. S. o. 14. Neither is this only spoken of Moses and the prophets, that

the Israelites believed in them, but of David, not as a prophet, but as a bare-relater of his own actions, 1 Sam. xxvii. 12.

וַיֵּאֱמָן אַכִּישׁ בְּרֹדֶךְ *וַיֵּאֱמָן אַכִּישׁ בְּרֹדֶךְ*, καὶ *ἐπιστάσθαι* Δαβὶδ ἐν τῷ Ἀγγά, *Vulg.* Et credidit Achis in David. Est ergo fides nostra prime quidem omnium in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, consequenter vero etiam in omnes sanctos Patriarchas, vel Prophetas, vel Apostolos Christi. *Orig. in Apol. Pamphil.* To conclude, this general phrase of believing in, is generally attributed sometimes to the supreme author of our faith, as to God; sometimes to the intervenient messengers, as the prophets; sometimes to the motives of our faith, Ps.

לֹא הֶאֱמִינוּ בַּנִּפְלְאוֹתָיו *LXX.* καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστανται ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι αὐτοῦ, and they believed not in his wondrous works; sometimes to the object of it, or that which is believed, as Psal. cxix. 66. **בְּמִצְוֹתֶיךָ הֶאֱמַנְתִּי**, I have believed in thy commandments, as Mar. i. 15. *πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ*.

* Πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ ἐμολογούμεν ὅτι μόνον ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ υἱὸν, καὶ ἐν μόνῳ πνεύματι ἄγιον. St. Basil.

Ghost; sometimes using it as to them, they continue the same to the following articles of, the Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints,* &c. and generally speak of the CREED† as nothing but mere matter of faith, without any intimation of hope, love, or any such notion included in it.‡ So that *believing in*, by virtue of the phrase or manner of speech, whether we look upon the original use of it in the Hebrew, or the derivative in the Greek, or the sense of it in the first Christians in the Latin church, can be of no farther real importance in the CREED in respect of God, who immediately follows, than to acknowledge and assert his being or existence. Nor ought this to be imagined a slender notion or small part of the first article of our faith, when it really is the foundation of this and all the rest; that as the CREED is fundamental in respect of other truths, this is the foundation§ even of the fundamentals: “for he that cometh to God must believe that he is.” (Heb. xi. 6.) And this I take for a sufficient explanation of the phrase, *I believe in God*, that is, *I believe that God is*.

As for the matter or truth contained in these words so explained, it admits a threefold consideration, first of the notion

* Arius and Euzoius in their confession delivered to Constantine, Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς σαρκεὶς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 26. Sozomen. l. ii. c. 27. Κατήχους τῶν φωτιζομένων σχεδιασθεῖσα εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς σαρκεὶς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰῶνος. S. Cyril Hierosol. εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Epirh. in Anc. and in a larger confession, πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα μετανόας, καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰῶνος.

† Greg. Nyss. calls them εὐσεβεῖς περὶ Θεοῦ ὑπολήψεις. And Eusebius in his Confession exhibited to the council of Nice, concludes, Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τοῦτον ἑκαστον εἶπαι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες, signifying that every particular which he had rehearsed he believed to be. And that was all in the confession intended. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, after a long declaration of the former articles concerning the Father and

the Son, draws to a conclusion on the latter article thus; Πρὸς δὲ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ (I. εὐσεβεῖ) ταύτῃ περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ δόξῃ — ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίῳ ὁμολογοῦμεν — μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἐκκλησίαν — μετὰ τούτων (vel τούτῳ) ἐκ νεκρῶ ἀνάστασιν οὐδαμην. Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 4. So Tertul. de Præscr. adv. Hæret. Regula est fidei illa qua creditur Unum omnino Deum esse: and adv. Præscam, cap. 2. where he makes another rehearsal of his Creed, he begins with, Unicum quidem Deum credimus.

‡ Non est amor Dei Articulus, neque etiam amor proximi, quia etiam si sint præcepta generalia activa, tamen cum actio contineatur, non oportet eum constituere articulum, sed ista sunt fidei dogmata quæ sunt columnæ et fundamenta legis divinæ. Is. Abravanel de cap. fidei, c. 11. Primus est deorum cultus, Deos credere. Sen.

§ יסוד היסודות ועמוד החכמות
לדע שיש שם מצוי ראשון והוא
ממציא כל נמצא the foundation of
foundations and pillar of wisdom is to know
that the first Being is, and that it giveth existence to every thing which is. Maimonides
de Fundam. Legis,

of God, what is here understood by that name; secondly, of the existence of God, how we know or believe that he is; thirdly, the unity of God, in that though "there be gods many, and lords many," (1 Cor. v. 8.) yet in our CREED we mention him as but one. When therefore we shall have clearly delivered what is the true notion of God in whom we believe, how and by what means we come to assure ourselves of the existence of such a Deity, and upon what grounds we apprehend him of such a transcendent nature that he can admit no competitor; then may we be conceived to have sufficiently explicated the former part of the first article; then may every one understand what he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he professeth, *I believe in God.*

The name of *God* is attributed unto many, but here is to be understood of him who by way of eminency and excellency bears that name, and therefore is styled *God of gods*; "the Lord our God is God of gods, and Lord of lords;" (Deut. x. 17. Psalm. cxxxvi. 2. Dan. ii. 47. xi. 36.) and in the same respect is called "the most high God," (Gen. xiv. 18—20. 22.) others being but inferior, or under him, and, "God over or above all."* This eminency and excellency, by which these titles become proper unto him, and incommunicable to any other, is grounded upon the Divine nature or essence, which all other who are called gods have not, and therefore are not by nature gods. "Then when ye knew not God, (saith St. Paul,) ye did service to them which by nature are not gods." (Gal. iv. 8.) There is then a God by nature, and others which are called gods, but by nature are not so: for either they have no power at all, because no being, but only in the false opinions of deceived men, as the gods of the heathen; or if they have any real power or authority, from whence some are called *gods*† in the Scripture, yet they have it not from themselves or of their own nature, but from him who "only hath immortality," and consequently only divinity, and therefore is the "only true God." So that the notion of a Deity doth at last expressly signify a Being or nature of infinite perfection;‡ and

* Rom. ix. 5. Ephes. iv. 6. Imprimis necesse est concedatis esse aliquem sublimiorem Deum et mancipem quandam divinitatis qui ex hominibus Deos fecerit. Tertul. adv. Gentes.

† Ego dixi Dii estis; sed in eo indulti nominis significatio est: et ubi refertur,

ego dixi, loquentis est potius sermo quam rei nomen. S. Hilary, de Trin. l. vii.

‡ Deus plenæ ac perfectæ divinitatis est nomen. Hilary, de Trin. l. xi. Deus substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est, divinitatis. Tertul. adv. Herm.

the infinite perfection of a nature or being consisteth in this, that it be absolutely and essentially necessary, an actual being of itself; and potential or causative of all beings beside itself, independent from any other, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed. It is true, indeed, that to give a perfect definition of *God* is impossible, neither can our finite reason hold any proportion with infinity: but yet a sense of this Divinity we have, and the first and common notion of it consists in these three particulars; that it is a Being of itself, and independent from any other; that it is that upon which all things which are made depend; that it governs all things. And this I conceive sufficient as to the first consideration, in reference to the notion of a God.

As for the existence of such a being, how it comes to be known unto us, or by what means we are assured of it, is not so unanimously agreed upon, as that it is. For although some have imagined that the knowledge of a Deity is connatural to the soul of man, so that every man hath a connate inbred notion of a God; yet I rather conceive the soul of man to have no connatural knowledge at all, no particular notion of any thing in it from the beginning; but being we can have no assurance of its pre-existence, we may more rationally judge it to receive the first apprehensions of things by sense, and by them to make all rational collections. If then the soul of man be at the first like a fair smooth table, without any actual characters or knowledge imprinted in it; if all the knowledge which we have comes successively by sensation, instruction, and rational collection; then must we not refer the apprehension of a Deity to any connate notion or inbred opinion; at least we are assured God never charged us with the knowledge of him upon that account.

Again, although others do affirm, that the existence of God is a truth evident of itself, so as whosoever hears but these terms once named, that God is, cannot choose but acknowledge it for a certain and infallible truth upon the first apprehension; that as no man can deny that the whole is greater than any part, who knoweth only what is meant by *whole*, and what by *part*: so no man can possibly deny or doubt of the existence of God, who knows but what is meant by God, and what it is *to be*; yet can we not ground our knowledge of God's existence upon any such clear and

immediate evidence: nor were it safe to lay it upon such a ground, because whosoever should deny it, could not by this means be convinced; it being a very irrational way of instruction to tell a man that doubts of this truth, that he must believe it because it is evident unto him, when he knows that he therefore only doubts of it, because it is not evident unto him.

Although therefore that *God is*, be of itself an immediate, certain necessary truth, yet must it be * evidenced and made apparent unto us by its connexion unto other truths; so that the being of the Creator may appear unto us by his creatures, and the dependency of inferior entities may lead us to a clear acknowledgment of the supreme and independent Being. The wisdom of the Jews thought this method proper, "for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the Maker of them is seen:" (Wisd. of Sol. xiii. 15.) and not only they, but St. Paul hath taught us, that "the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."† For if Phidias could

* *Hæc propositio, Deus est, quantum in se est, per se nota est, quia prædicatum est idem cum subjecto, Deus enim est suum esse. Sed quia nos non scimus de Deo quid est, non est nobis per se nota, sed indiget demonstrari per ea quæ sunt magis nota quoad nos, et minus nota quoad naturam, scilicet per effectus. Aquin. 1. p. q. 2. art. 2.*

† Rom. i. 20. This place must be vindicated from the false gloss of Socinus, who contends that it cannot be proved from the creature that there is a God, and therefore to this place of St. Paul answers thus: sciendum est verba a creatione mundi debere conjungi cum verbo *invisibilia*—at igitur eo in loco Apostolus, *æternam divinitatem Dei*, i. id quod nos Deus perpetuo facere vult, (Divinitas enim hoc sensu alibi quoque apud ipsum enunciatur, ut Col. ii. 9.) *æternamque potentiam*, i. promissiones quæ nunquam intercedunt, (quo sensu paulo superius dixerat *Evangelium esse potentium Dei*) hæc, inquam, quæ nunquam postquam mundus creatus est ab hominibus visa fuerant, i. non fuerant eis cognita, per opera, hoc est, per mirabiles ipsius Dei et divinorum hominum, præsertim vero Christi et Apostolorum ejus, operationes, conspecta fuisse. In which explication there is nothing which is not forced and distorted; for

though his first observation seems plausible, yet there is no validity in it. He bringeth only for proof, Matt. xiii. 35. *κεκρυμμένα δὲ κατεβαλλῆς κόσμου*, which proves not at all that *δὲ κατεβαλλῆς* has the same sense: and it is more probable that it hath not, because that is usually expressed by *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου*, Mar. x. 6. and xiii. 19. 2 Pet. iii. 4. never by *δὲ κατεβαλλῆς*. Besides the *κεκρυμμένα* in St. Matthew bears not that analogy with *ἀέφρα* which Socinus pretends, signifying not things unseen or unknown, till then, but only obscure sayings or parables; for which suppose those words were produced out of the Psalms by the Evangelist, to prove that the Messiah was to speak in parables, in the original *חֵת מִנִּי קֶדֶם* LXX. *πρόβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, i. wise, ancient sayings, which were not unseen and unknown, for it immediately followeth, *which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us*, Psal. lxxviii. 3. And though he would make out this interpretation, by accusing other interpreters of unfaithfulness, Plerique interpretes ex præpositione *a*, ex fecerunt, contra ipsorum Græcorum Codicum fidem, qui non *in κατεβαλλῆς* sed *ἀπὸ κατεβαλλῆς* habent: yet there is no ground for such a calumny, because *ἀπὸ* may be, and is often rendered *e* or *ex* as well as *in*, as Matt. iii. 4.

so contrive a piece of his own work,* as in it to preserve the memory of himself, never to be obliterated without the destruction of the work, well may we read the great Artificer of the world in the works of his own hands, and by the existence of any thing demonstrate the first cause of all things.

We find by the experience of ourselves, that some things in this world have a beginning, before which they were not; the account of the years of our age sufficiently infer our nativities, and they our conceptions, before which we had no being. Now if there be any thing which had a beginning, there must necessarily be something which had no beginning, because nothing can be a beginning to itself. Whatsoever is, must of necessity either have been made, or not made; and something there must needs be which was never made, because all things cannot be made. For whatsoever is made, is made by another, neither can any thing produce itself: otherwise it would follow, that the same thing is and is not at the same instant in the same respect: it is, because a producer; it is not, because to be produced; it is therefore in being, and is not in being; which is a manifest contradiction. If then all things which are made were made by some other, that other which produced them either was itself produced,

ἀπὸ τριῶν καμήλου, *e pilis camelinis*, vii. 4. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, *ex oculo tuo*, 16. ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν, *ex spinis*; and even in the sense which Socinus contends for Matt. xvii. 18. ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, V. T. *ex illa hora*, as Tully, *ex eo die*, and Virgil, *ex illo Corydon*, Corydon est tempore nobis, and, tempore jam *ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis Trojanæ*. So the Greek ἀπὸ μέρους the Latins render *ex parte*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, *ex æquo*: of which examples are innumerable. There is no unfaithfulness then imputable to the interpreters: nor can such pitiful criticisms give any advantage to the first part of Socinus's exposition. Howsoever the Catholic interpretation depends not on those words ἀπὸ κτίσεως, but on the consideration of the persons, that is the Gentiles, and the other words, *ποιήμασι νοούμενα*, which he farther perverts, rendering them the miraculous operations of Christ and his apostles, or, as one of our learned men, their *doings*, mistaking *ποίημα*, which is from the passive *ποιημαι*, for *ποίησις*, from the active *ποιῶσα*: for *ποίημα* is properly the thing made or created, not the operation or doing of it; as *κτίσις* is sometimes taken for the creature, sometimes for the crea-

tion, but *κτίσμα* is the creature only. As therefore we read, 1 Tim. iv. 4. *πάν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν*, so Eph. ii. 10. *αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα*. In this sense spake Thales properly, *Προβύτατος τῶν ὄντων Θεός, ἀνέγκειν γὰρ κάλλιστον κόσμος, ποίημα γὰρ Θεοῦ*. Laert. The other interpretations which he was forced to, are yet more extravagant: as when he renders the *eternal Godhead*, that which God would always have us do, or his everlasting will, and proves that rendition by another place of St. Paul, Col. ii. 9. "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;" that is, says he, all the will of God (whereas it is most certain, that where the Godhead is, especially where the fulness, even all the fulness of the Godhead is, there must be all the attributes as well as the will of God :) and when he interprets the *eternal power* to be the promises which shall never fail; and thinks he has sufficiently proved it, because the same apostle calls the gospel the *power of God*. For by this way of interpretation no sentence of Scripture can have any certain sense.

* In the shield of Pallas, *Arist. de mundo*.

or was not : and if not, then have we already an independent being ; if it were, we must at last come to something which was never made, or else admit either a circle of production, in which the effect shall make its own cause, or an * infinite succession in causalities, by which nothing will be made : both which are equally impossible. Something then we must confess was never made, something which never had beginning. And although these effects or dependent beings, singly considered by themselves, do not infer one supreme cause and maker of them all, yet the admirable order and † connexion of things shew as much ; and this one supreme cause is God. For all things which we see or know have their existence for some end, which no man who considereth the uses and utilities of every species can deny. Now, whatsoever is and hath its being for some end, of that the end for which it is, must be thought the cause ; and a final cause is no otherwise the cause of any thing than as it moves the efficient cause to work : from whence we cannot but collect a prime efficient cause of all things, endued with infinite wisdom, who having a full comprehension of the ends of all, designed, produced, and disposed all things to those ends.

Again, as all things have their existence, so have they also their operations for some end ; ‡ and whatsoever worketh so, must needs be directed to it. Although then those creatures which are endued with reason, can thereby apprehend the goodness of the end for which they work, and make choice of such means as are proportionable and proper for the obtaining of it, and so by their own counsel direct themselves unto it : yet can we not conceive that other natural agents, whose operations flow from a bare instinct, can be directed in their actions by any counsel of their own. The stone doth not deliberate whether it shall descend, nor doth the wheat take counsel whether it shall grow or not. Even men in natural actions use no act of deliberation : we do not advise how our heart shall beat, though without that pulse we cannot live ; when we have provided nutriment for our sto-

* Ἄλλα μὲν ὅτι γ' ἰστίς ἀρχή τις, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν ὄντων, οὐτ' εἰς αὐθυμωρίας, οὐτ' κατ' αἶδος, ὅτι δὲ. *Arist. Metaph.* l. ii. c. 2. and again, οὐκ αὖτις ἰστίς τὸ πρῶτον, ὅλας αἰτίαι οὐδὲν ἰστίς.

† Πᾶσαν αἰτίαν εἰ ὅλας ἰστίς θεός ; Ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὄντων συστάσεώς τι καὶ διαμονῆς. *Justin.*

Quest. et resp. ad Græcos.

‡ Ἐν ἰστίς τέλος τί ἰστίς, τοῦτου ἵνα πρᾶτται τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς πρᾶτται, οὕτω πῶτος καὶ ὡς πῶτος, ἀν μὴ τι ἐμποδίζῃ, οὕτω πρᾶτται ἵνα πρᾶτται δι' ἵνα τούτου, καὶ πῶτος ἀπὸ τούτου ἵνα. *Arist. Phys.* l. ii. c. 8.

mach, we take no counsel how it shall be digested there, or how the chyle is distributed to every part for the reparation of the whole; the mother which conceives takes no care how that *conceptus* shall be framed, how all the parts shall be distinguished, and by what means or ways the child shall grow within her womb: and yet all these operations are directed to their proper ends, and that with a greater reason, and therefore by a greater wisdom, than what proceeds from any thing of human understanding. What then can be more clear, than that those natural agents which work constantly for those ends which they themselves cannot perceive, must be directed by some high and overruling wisdom? And who can be their director in all their operations tending to those ends, but he who gave them their beings for those ends? And who is that, but the great Artificer who works in all of them? For art is so far the imitation of nature, that if it were not in the artificer, but * in the thing itself which by art is framed, the works of art and nature would be the same. Were that which frames a watch within it, and all those curious wheels wrought without the hand of man, it would seem to grow into that form; nor would there be any distinction between the making of that watch, and the growing of a plant. Now what the artificer is to works of art, who orders and disposes them to other ends than by nature they were made, that is the Maker of all things to all natural agents, directing all their operations to ends which they cannot apprehend; and thus appears the Maker to be the ruler of the world, † the steerer of this great ship, the law of this universal commonwealth, the general of all the hosts of heaven and earth. By these ways, as by the ‡ testimony of the creature, we come to find an eternal and independent Being, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed; and this we have before supposed to be the first notion of God.

Neither is this any private collection or particular ratiocination, but the public and universal reason of the world. §

* Ἄσπερον τὸ μὴ οἰσθαι, ἕνεκα τοῦ γίνεσθαι, ἂν μὴ ᾤωτο τὸ κινεῖν βουλευσάμενον καὶ τοὺς καὶ ἡ τέχνη οὐ βουλευέται· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ἡ ναυπηγικὴ, ὁμοίως ἂν τῇ φύσει ἔκείνῃ. *Arist. ib.*

† Καθόλου ὅτι ἐν νῆϊ κυβερνήτης, ἐν ἄρματι ἡγεμὼν, ἐν πόλει δὲ κορυφαῖος, ἐν στρατοῦ δὲ ἡγεμὼν· τὸ αὐτὸ οὖν ἐν κόσμῳ. *Arist. de Mun.*

‡ Habet Dominus testimonium totum hoc quod sumus, et in quo sumus. *Tertul.*

§ Ἀρχαῖός τις λόγος καὶ πατήρ ἐστι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὥς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνίσταται. *Arist. de Mundo.*

No age so distant, no country so remote, no people so barbarous, but gives a sufficient testimony of this truth. When the Roman eagle flew over most parts of the habitable world, they met with atheism no where, but rather by their miscellany deities at Rome, which grew together with their victories, they shewed no nation was without its god. And since the later art of navigation improved hath discovered another part of the world, with which no former commerce hath been known, although the customs of the people be much different, and their manner of religion hold small correspondence with any in these parts of the world professed, yet in this all agree, that some religious observances they retain, and a Divinity they acknowledge. Or if any nation be discovered which maketh no profession of piety, and exerciseth no religious observances, it followeth not from thence that they acknowledge no God: for they may only deny his providence, as the Epicureans did: or if any go farther, their numbers are so few, that they must be inconsiderable in respect of mankind. And therefore so much of the CREED hath been the general *confession* of all nations,* *I believe in God*. Which were it not a most certain truth grounded upon principles obvious unto all, what reason could be given of so universal a consent; or how can it be imagined that all men should conspire to deceive themselves and their posterity?†

Nor is the reason only general, and the consent unto it universal, but God hath still preserved and quickened the worship due unto his name, by the patefaction of himself. Things which are to come are so beyond our knowledge, that the wisest man can but conjecture: and being we are assured of the contingency of future things, and our ignorance of the concurrence of several free causes to the production of an effect, we may be sure that certain and infallible predictions are clear Divine patefactions. For none but he who made all things, and gave them power to work; none but he who ruleth all things, and ordereth and directeth all their operations to their ends; none but he upon whose will the actions of all things depend; can possibly be imagined to foresee the effects depending merely on those causes. And therefore by what means we may be assured of a pro-

* Nulla gens usquam est adeo contra leges moresque projecta, ut non aliquos Deos credat. *Sen.*

† Nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi surda numina et inefficaces Deos. *Sen.*

phesy, by the same we may be secured of a Divinity. Except then all the annals of the world were forgeries, and all remarks of history designed to put a cheat upon posterity, we can have no pretence to suspect God's existence, having so ample testimonies of his influence.

The works of nature appear by observation uniform, and there is a certain sphere of every body's power and activity. If then any action be performed, which is not within the compass of the power of any natural agent, if any thing be wrought by the intervention of a body which beareth no proportion to it, or hath no natural aptitude so to work; it must be ascribed to a cause transcending all natural causes, and disposing all their operations. Thus every miracle proves its author, and every act of omnipotency is a sufficient demonstration of a Deity. And that man must be possessed with a strange opinion of the wickedness of our fathers, and the testimony of all former ages, who shall deny that ever any miracle was wrought. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old.—Blessed be the Lord God, who only doeth wondrous works." (Psal. xliv. 1. lxxii. 18.)

Nor are we only informed by the necessary dependency of all things on God, as effects upon their universal cause, or his external patefactions unto others, and the consentient acknowledgment of mankind; but every particular person hath a particular remembrancer in himself, as a sufficient testimony of his Creator, Lord, and Judge. We know there is a great force of conscience in all men, by which their "*thoughts are ever accusing, or excusing them:*" (Rom. ii. 15.) they feel a comfort in those virtuous actions which they find themselves to have wrought according to their rule, a sting and secret remorse for all vicious acts and impious machinations. Nay, those who strive most to deny a God, and to obliterate all sense of Divinity out of their own souls, have not been least sensible of this remembrancer in their breasts. It is true, indeed, that a false opinion of God, and a superstitious persuasion which hath nothing of the true God in it, may breed a remorse of conscience in those who think it true; and therefore some may hence collect that the force of conscience is only grounded upon an opinion of a Deity, and that opinion may be false. But if it be a truth, as the testimonies of the wisest writers of most different persuasions, and expe-

rience of all sorts of persons of most various inclinations, do agree, that the remorse of conscience can never be obliterated, then it rather proveth than supposeth an opinion of a Divinity; and that man which most peremptorily denieth God's existence is the greatest argument himself that there is a God. Let Caligula profess himself an atheist, and with that profession hide his head, or run under his bed, when the thunder strikes his ears, and lightning flashes in his eyes; those terrible works of nature put him in mind of the power, and his own guilt of the justice of God; whom while in his wilful opinion he weakly denieth, in his involuntary action he strongly asserteth. So that a Deity will either be granted or extorted, and where it is not acknowledged it will be manifested. Only unhappy is that man who denies him to himself, and proves him to others; who will not * acknowledge his existence, of whose power he cannot be ignorant, "God is not far from every one of us." (Acts xvii. 27.) The proper discourse of St. Paul to the philosophers of Athens was, that "they might feel after him and find him." Some children have been so ungracious as to refuse to give the honour due unto their parent, but never any so irrational as to deny they had a father. As for those who have dishonoured God, it may stand most with their interest, and therefore they may wish there were none; but cannot consist with their reason to assert there is none, when even the very poets of the heathen have taught us "that we are his offspring." (Acts xvii. 28.)

It is necessary thus to believe there is a God, First, Because there can be no Divine faith without this belief. For all faith is therefore only Divine, because it relieth upon the authority of God giving testimony to the object of it; but that which hath no being can have no authority, can give no testimony. The ground of his authority is his veracity, the foundations of his veracity are his omniscience and sanctity, both which suppose his essence and existence, because what is not is neither knowing nor holy.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe a Deity, that thereby we may acknowledge such a nature extant as is worthy of, and may justly challenge from us, the highest worship and adoration. For it were vain to be religious and to exercise de-

* *Hæc est summa delicti, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis. S. Cypr. de Idol. Van.*

votion, except there were a Being to which all such holy applications were most justly due. Adoration implies submission and dejection, so that while we worship we cast down ourselves: there must be therefore some great eminence in the object worshipped, or else we should dishonour our own nature in the worship of it. But when a being is presented of that intrinsical and necessary perfection, that it depends on nothing, and all things else depend on that, and are wholly governed and disposed by it, this worthily calls us to our knees, and shews the humblest of our devotions to be but just and loyal retributions.

This necessary truth hath been so universally received, that we shall always find all nations of the world more prone unto idolatry than to atheism, and readier to multiply than deny the Deity. But our faith teacheth us equally to deny them both, and each of them are renounced in these words, *I believe in God*. First, *In God* affirmatively, *I believe* he is, against atheism. Secondly, *In God* exclusively, not in gods, against polytheism and idolatry. Although therefore the existence and unity of God be two distinct truths, yet are they of so necessary dependence and intimate coherence, that both may be expressed by * one word, and included in one † article.

And that the unity of the Godhead is concluded in this article is apparent, not only because the Nicene council so expressed it by way of exposition, but also because this CREED in the † churches of the east, before the council of

* Solum Deum confirmas quem tantum Deum nominas. *Tertul. de Testim. Anima*, c. 1. When Leo, bishop of Rome, in an Epistle to Flavianus, had written these words: Fidelium universitas profitetur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus: one of the Eutyhians objected with this question, Cur non dixerit in unum Deum Patrem, et in unum Jesum, juxta Nicœni Decretum Concilii? To which Vigilius, bishop of Trent, or rather of Tapsus, gives this answer, Sed Romæ et antiquam Nicœna Synodus conveniret, a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc, ita fidelibus Symbolum traditur, nec præjudicant verba ubi sensus incolamnis permanet: magis enim cum D. J. Christi sententia hæc fidei professio facit dicentis, *credidit in eum et in me credere*: nec dixit in unum Deum Patrem, et in unum meipsum. Quis enim nesciat unum esse

Deum, et unum J. Christum Filium ejus? *Vigil. l. iv. contra Eutyth.*

† Rab Chasdai in Or Adonai. R. Joseph Albo in Hiksrim.

‡ Orientales Ecclesiæ omnes ista tradunt, Credo in uno Deo Patre omnipotenti. *Ruffi in Symb.* Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos Hæreticos pertinere, quia falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus unus sit. *Optat. l. i.* Nos enim et scimus, et legimus, et credimus, et tenemus, unum esse Deum, qui fecit cælum pariter ac terram, quoniam nec alterum novimus, nec nosse, cum nullus sit, aliquando poterimus. *Novatianus de Trin.* c. 30. And before all these Irenæus, citing under the title of Scripture, a passage out of the book of Hermas, called Pastor. Bene ergo Scriptura dicit, primo omnium crede quoniam unus est Deus, qui omnia constituit et consummavit, et fecit ex eo quod non

Nice had that addition in it, *I believe in one God*. We begin our CREED then as *Plato did his chief and prime epistles, who gave this distinction to his friends, that the name of God was prefixed before those that were more serious and remarkable, but of gods, in the plural, to such as were more vulgar and trivial. "Unto thee it was shewed, (saith Moses) to Israel, that thou mightest know that the Lord he is God, there is none else beside him." (Deut. vi. 35.) And as the law, so the gospel teacheth us the same. "We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and there is none other God but one." (1 Cor. viii. 4.) This unity of the Godhead will easily appear as necessary as the existence, so that it must be as impossible there should be more gods than one, as that there should be none; which will clearly be demonstrated, first, out of the nature of God, to which multiplication is repugnant; and, secondly, from the government as he is Lord, in which we must not admit confusion.

For, first, the nature of God consists in this, that he is the prime and original cause of all things, as an independent being upon which all things else depend, and likewise the ultimate end or final cause of all; but in this sense two prime causes are unimaginable, and for all things to depend of one, and to be more independent beings than one, is a clear contradiction. This primity God requires to be attributed to himself. "Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called, I am he, I am the first, I also am the last." (Isa. xlviii. 12.) And from this primity he challengeth his unity. "Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his Redeemer the Lord of Hosts, I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God." (Isa. xlv. 6.)

Again, if there were more gods than one, then were not all perfections in one, neither formally, by reason of their distinction, nor eminently and virtually, for then one should have power to produce the other, and that nature which is producible is not Divine. But all acknowledge God to be absolutely and infinitely perfect, in whom all perfections imaginable which are simply such must be contained formally, and all others which imply any mixture of imperfection virtually.

erat, ut essent omnia, omnium capax, et qui à nomine capiatur. l. iv. c. 37.

* The passage is yet extant in the epistles of Plato. Euseb. in præp. Evang.

But were no arguments brought from the infinite perfections of the Divine nature able to convince us, yet were the consideration of his supreme dominion sufficient to persuade us. The will of God is infinitely free, and by that freedom doth he govern and dispose of all things. "He doth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth," (Dan. iv. 35.) said Nebuchadnezzar out of his experience; and St. Paul expresseth him as "working all things after the counsel of his own will." If then there were more supreme governors of the world than one, each of them absolute and free, they might have contrary determinations concerning the same thing, than which nothing can be more prejudicial unto government. God is a God of order, not confusion, and therefore of unity, not admitting multiplication. If it be better that the * universe should be governed by one than many, we may be assured that it is so, because nothing must be conceived of God but what is best. He therefore who made all things, by that right is Lord of all, and because all † power is his, he alone ruleth over all.

Now God is not only *one*, but hath an unity ‡ peculiar to himself by which he is the *only* God; and that not only by way of actuality, but also of possibility. Every individual man is one, but so as there is a second and a third, and consequently every one is part of a number, and concurring to a multitude. The sun indeed is one; so as there is neither

* Τὰ ὅρα οὐ βούλεται πολλαίτις εἶναι κακός. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυμορφεῖν, εἰς ἓν καίπας. Arist. Metaph. l. xii. c. ult.

† Unus omnium Dominus est Deus: neque enim illa sublimitas potest habere consortem, cum sola omnem teneat potestatem, S. Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.

‡ אלה זה אחד הוא ואינו לא שנים ולא יותר על שנים אלא אחד שאין ביחידה אחד מן האחרים הנמצאים בעולם לא אחד במין שהוא כולל אחדים הרבה: ולא אחד ככופ שהוא נחלק למחלקות ולקצות אלא אחד שאין יחד אחד: God is one, not two, or more than two, but only one; whose unity is not like to that of the individuals of this world, neither is he one by way of species comprehending many individuals, neither one in the manner of

a body which is divisible into parts and extremes: but he is so one, as no unity like his is to be found in the world. Moses Maim. de Fundam. Legis. Quod autem diximus, Orientis Ecclesias tradere unum Patrem Omnipotentem, et unum Dominum, hoc modo intelligendum est, unum non numero dici, sed universitate: verbi gratia, si quis dicat unum hominem, aut unum equum, hic unam pro numero posuit, potest enim et alius homo esse, et tertius, vel equus. Ubi autem secundus et tertius non potest jungi, unus si dicatur, non numeri, sed universitatis est nomen. Ut si exempli causâ dicamus unum Solem, hic unus ita dicitur ut alius vel tertius addi non possit; multo magis Deus cum unus dicitur, unus non numeri, sed universitatis vocabulo nuncupatur, id est, qui propterea unus dicitur, quod alius non sit. Ruffin. in Symb.

third nor second sun, at least within the same vortex: but though there be not, yet there might have been; neither in the unity of the solar nature is there any repugnancy to plurality; for that God which made this world, and in this "the sun to rule the day," might have made another world by the same fecundity of his omnipotency, and another sun to rule in that. Whereas in the Divine nature there is an intrinsical and essential singularity, because no other being can have any existence but from that; and whatsoever essence hath its existence from another is not God. "I am the Lord, (saith he,) and there is none else, there is no God besides me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me, I am the Lord, and there is none else." (Isa. xlv. 5, 6. Deut. iv. 35, and xxxii. 39. Psal. xviii. 31.) He who hath infinite knowledge knoweth no other God beside himself. "Is there a God besides me? yea there is no God, I know not any." (Isa. xlv. 18, 21, 22. and xlv. 8.) And we who believe in him, and desire to enjoy him, need for that end to know no other God but him: "For this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God;" (John xvii. 3.) * as certainly one as God.

It is necessary thus to believe the unity of the Godhead, that being assured there is a nature worthy of our devotions, and challenging our religious subjection, we may learn to know whose that nature is to which we owe our adorations, lest our minds should wander and fluctuate in our worship about various and uncertain objects. If we should apprehend more gods than one, I know not what could determine us in any instant to the actual adoration of any one: for where no difference doth appear, (as, if there were many, and all by nature gods, there could be none,) what inclination could we have, what reason could we imagine, to prefer or elect any one before the rest for the object of our devo-

* Veritas Christiana districte pronuntiavit, Deus si non unus est, non est; quia dignius credimus non esse, quodcumque non ita fuerit ut esse debeat. *Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 2.* Deus cum summum magnum sit recte veritas nostra pronuntiavit, Deus si non unus est, non est. Non quasi dubitemus esse Deum, dicendo, si non unus, non est Deus; sed quia, quem confidimus esse, idem definiamus esse, quod si non est Deus, non est, summum scilicet magnum. Porro summum magnum, unicum sit necesse est, ergo et Deus unicus erit non aliter Deus nisi summum magnum, nec aliter summum magnum nisi parem non habens, nec aliter parem non habens nisi unicus fuerit. *Ibid.*

tions? Thus is it necessary to believe the unity of God in respect of us who are obliged to worship him.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the unity of God in respect of him who is to be worshipped. Without this acknowledgment we cannot give unto God the things which are God's, it being part of the worship and honour due unto God, to accept of no compartner with him. When the law was given, in the observance whereof the religion of the Israelites consisted, the first precept was this prohibition, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me;" (Exod. xx. 3.) and whosoever violateth this, denieth the foundation on which all the rest depend, as the *Jews observe. This is the true reason of that strict precept by which all are commanded to give divine worship to God only, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;" (Matth. iv. 10) because he alone is God: him only shalt thou fear, because he alone hath infinite power; in him only shalt thou trust, because "he only is our rock and our salvation;" (Psal. lxii. 2.) to him alone shalt thou direct thy devotions, because "he only knoweth the hearts of the children of men." (2 Chron. vi. 30.) Upon this foundation the whole heart of man is entirely required of him, and engaged to him. "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one God: And (or rather, Therefore) thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." (Deut. vi. 4, 5.) Whosoever were truly and by nature God, could not choose but challenge our love upon the ground of an infinite excellency, and transcendent beauty of holiness; and therefore if there were more Gods than one, our love must necessarily be terminated unto † more than one, and consequently divided between them; and as our love, so also the proper effect thereof, our cheerful and ready obedience, which, like the child propounded to the judgment of Solomon, as soon as it is divided, is destroyed, "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other: or else

* Moses Maimon. de Fund. legis c. 3.

† Numerus divinitatis summa ratione constare deberet, vel quoniam et cultura ejus in anceps deduceretur. Ecce enim duos intuens Deos tam pares quam duo summa magna, quid facerem si ambos colerem? Vereror ne abundantia officii

superstitio potius quam religio crederetur: quia duos tam pares et in altero ambos possem in uno demereri: hoc ipso testimonium præstans parilitati et unitati eorum, dum alterum in altero venerarer, dum in uno mihi duo sunt. Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 5.

he will hold to the one, and despise the other. (Matt. vi. 24.)

Having thus described the first notion of a God, having demonstrated the existence and unity of that God, and having in these three particulars comprised all which can be contained in this part of the article, we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand, what it is he says when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in God*; which in correspondence with the precedent discourse may be thus expressed:

Forasmuch as by all things created is made known the eternal power and Godhead, and the dependency of all limited beings infers an infinite and independent essence; whereas all things are for some end, and all their operations directed to it, although they cannot apprehend that end for which they are, and in prosecution of which they work, and therefore must be guided by some universal and overruling wisdom; being this collection is so evident, that all the nations of the earth have made it; being God hath not only written himself in the lively characters of his creatures, but hath also made frequent patefactions of his Deity by most infallible predictions and supernatural operations: therefore I fully assent unto, freely acknowledge, and clearly profess, this truth, that *there is a God*.

Again, being a prime and independent Being supposeth all other to depend, and consequently no other to be God; being the entire fountain of all perfections is incapable of a double head, and the most perfect government of the universe speaks the supreme dominion of one absolute Lord; hence I do acknowledge that God to be but one, and in this unity, or rather singularity of the Godhead, excluding all actual or possible multiplication of a Deity, *I believe in God*.

I believe in God the Father.

After the confession of a Deity, and assertion of the Divine unity, the next consideration is concerning God's paternity; for that "one God is Father of all," (Eph. iv. 6.) and "to us there is but one God, the Father." (1 Cor. viii. 6.)

Now, although the Christian notion of the Divine paternity be some way peculiar to the evangelical patefaction; yet*

* *Omnem Deum qui ab homine colitur, necesse est inter solennes ritus et prece-*

wheresoever God hath been acknowledged, he hath been understood and worshipped as a *Father*: the very heathen* poets so describe their gods, and their vulgar names did carry *Father*† in them, as the most popular and universal notion.

This name of *Father* is a relative; and the proper foundation of paternity, as of a relation, is generation. As therefore the phrase of generating is diversely attributed unto several acts of the same nature with generation properly taken, or by consequence attending on it; so the title of *Father* is given unto divers persons or things, and for several reasons unto the same God. "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and heavens," (Gen. ii. 4.) saith Moses. So that the creation or production of any thing by which it is, and before was not, is a kind of generation, and consequently the creator or producer of it a kind of *Father*. "Hath the rain a Father? Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?" (Job xxxviii. 28.) by which words Job signifies, that as there is no other cause assignable of the rain but God, so may he as the cause be called the *Father* of it, though not in the most proper sense,‡ as he is the *Father* of his Son: and so the § philosophers of old, who thought that God did make the world, called him expressly, as the Maker, so the *Father* of it. And thus "to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things;" (1 Cor. viii. 6.) to which the words following in the CREED may seem to have relation, "the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." But in this mass of creatures and body of the universe, some works of the creation more properly call him *Father*, as being more rightly sons: such

tiones patrem nuncupari; non tantum honoris gratia, sed et rationis, et quod antiquior est homine, et quod vitam, salutem, victum prestat ut pater. Itaque et Jupiter a precantibus Pater vocatur, et Saturnus, et Janus, et Liber, et cæteri deinceps. *Lactan. de ver. Sap. l. iv. c. 3.*

* That so frequent in Homer, πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τῇ θεῶν τῇ eundemque appellans dicit Ennius, Divumque hominumque pater rex. *Var. de L. L. l. iv.* As Servius observes of Virgil, a poeta pene omnibus Diis nomen Paternum additur, ut fiant venerabiles: And before him Lucilius, Ut nemo sit nostrum quin pater optimus Divum,

Ut Neptunus Pater, Liber, Saturnus Pater, Mars, Janus, Quirinus Pater nomen dicatur ad unum. *Lactan. lb.*

† As Jupiter, which is Jovis Pater, or Ζευπάτερ, otherwise *Dispiter*, or Δι-πάτερ, and Marspiter, of whom Servius, apud Pontifices Marspiter dicitur. *Æneid. l. iii.* So Semipater for Semo, and Ζαρδωπάτερ for Sardus, the proper Deity of Sardinia, *Ptolem.*

‡ Ἐρίσας γὰρ τὴν θεοῦ πατέρα θεὸν ἀνομιᾶν, καὶ ἱερίως νοῦ. Severus in Job.

§ Plutarch of Plato, calling God πατέρα πάντων καὶ ποιητὴν, says τῇ μεταφορᾷ χεώμενος, ὡς πατὴρ ἐκείνους, τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα τοῦ

are all the rational and intellectual offspring of the Deity. Of merely natural beings and irrational agents he is* the creator of rational, as so, the *Father* also; they are his creatures, these his sons. Hence he is styled the "Father of spirits," (Heb. xii. 9.) and the blessed angels, when he laid the foundations of the earth, his sons; "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy:" (Job xxxviii. 7.) hence man, whom he created after his own image, is called his "offspring," (Acts xvii. 28.) and Adam, the immediate work of his hands, "the son of God:" (Luke iii. 38.) hence we may all cry out with the Israelites taught by the prophet so to speak, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?" (Malac. ii. 10) Thus the first and most universal notion of God's paternity in a borrowed or metaphorical sense is founded rather upon creation than procreation.

Unto this act of creation is annexed that of conservation, by which God doth uphold and preserve in being that which at first he made, and to which he gave its being. As therefore it is the duty of the parent to educate and preserve the child as that which had its being from him; so this paternal education doth give the name of † *Father* unto man, and conservation gives the same to God.

Again, redemption from a state of misery, by which a people hath become worse than nothing, unto a happy condition, is a kind of generation, which joined with love, care, and indulgence in the Redeemer, is sufficient to found a new paternity, and give him another title of a Father. Well might Moses tell the people of Israel, now brought out of the land of Egypt from their brick and straw, unto their

κόσμου κέκλυκε. Platon. *Quæst.* And Alcimus, πατήρ δὲ ἐστὶ τῷ αἰτίῳ εἶναι πάντων.

* No Plutarch answers the question, why Plato terms God the Maker and Father of all things. "Ἡ τῶν μὲν Θεῶν τῶν γεννητῶν τῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ ἐστὶ· ποιητὴς δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων; Father of gods and men, Maker of all things inanimate and irrational. Οὐ γὰρ χροῖον φησὶ χρύσιππος πατέρα καλεῖσθαι τὸν παρασχόντα τὸ σπέρμα καίπερ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος γεγονότος. Non enim agri pater, si Chrysippo credimus, is dicitur qui eum concevit, quamquam e semine deinde fruges nascantur: as the Latin translations most absurdly. For there is neither corn, nor any field, nor seed belonging to them, in the

words of Plutarch. But χροῖον (not χροῖον) is the *secunda*, the coat (or rather coats in the acceptation of Chrysippus, and the language of those times) in which the fœtus is involved in the mother's womb. Though therefore both the *secunda* and the *fœtus* be made of the seed of the male in the philosophy of Chrysippus, yet he is not called the father of the after-birth, but of the child; the one being endued with life and reason, and the other not.

† So Eustathius observes out of an ingenious etymologist: Πατὴρ Θεὸς μὲν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν τηρῶν ἀνθρώπος δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας τηρῶν. *Il. 8.*

quails and manna, unto their milk and honey, "Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?" (Deut. xxxii. 6.) Well might God speak unto the same people as to "his son, even his first-born, (Exod. iv. 22.) Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb, Harken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are by me from the belly, which are carried from the womb." (Isa. xlv. 24. xlv. 3.) And just is the acknowledgment made by that people instructed by the prophet, "Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, from everlasting is thy name." (Isa. lxiii. 16.) And thus another kind of paternal relation of God unto the sons of men is founded on a restitution or temporal redemption.

Besides, if to be born causeth relation to a father, then to be born again maketh an addition of another: and if to generate foundeth, then to regenerate addeth a paternity. Now though we cannot enter the second time into our mother's womb, nor pass through the same door into the scene of life again; yet we believe and are persuaded that "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." (John iii. 3.) A double birth there is, and the world * consists of two, the first and the second man. And though the incorruptible seed be the word of God, and the dispensers of it in some some sense may say, as St. Paul spake unto the Corinthians, "I have begotten you through the Gospel:" (1 Cor. iv. 15.) yet he is the true Father, whose word it is, and that is God, even "the Father of lights, who of his own will begat us with the word of truth." (James i. 17, 18.) Thus "whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God;" (1 John v. 1.) which regeneration is as it were a second creation: "for we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." (Ephes. ii. 10.) And he alone who did create us out of nothing, can beget us again, and make us of the new creation. When Rachel called to Jacob, "Give me children, or else I die;" (Gen. xxx. 1, 2.) he answered her sufficiently with this question, "Am I in God's stead?" And if he only openeth the womb, who else can

* Totum hominum genus quodammodo sunt homines duo, primus et secundus. Prosp.

make the soul* to bear? Hence hath he the name of Father, and they of sons who are born of him; and so from that internal act of spiritual regeneration another title of paternity redoundeth unto the Divinity.

Nor is this the only second birth or sole regeneration in a Christian sense; the soul, which after its natural being requires a birth into the life of grace, is also after that born again into a life of glory. Our Saviour puts us in mind of the regeneration, "when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory." (Matt. xix. 28.) The resurrection of our bodies is a kind of coming out of the womb of the earth, and entering upon immortality, a nativity into another life. For "they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, are the sons of God, being the sons of the resurrection," (Luke xx. 35, 36.) and then as sons, "they become heirs, coheirs with Christ, (Rom. viii. 17.) receiving the promise and reward of eternal inheritance." (Col. iii. 24. Heb. ix. 15.) "Beloved, now are we the sons of God," saith St. John,† even in this life by regeneration, "and it doth not yet appear, or, it hath not been yet made manifest, what we shall be; but we know that if he appear we shall be like him:" the manifestation of the Father being a sufficient declaration of the condition of the sons, when the sonship itself consisteth in a similitude of the Father. And "blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us." (1 Pet. i. 3, 4.) Why may not then a second kind of regeneration be thought a fit addition of this paternal relation?

Neither is there only a natural, but also a voluntary and civil foundation of paternity; for the laws have found a way by which a man may become a father without procreation: and this imitation of nature‡ is called adoption, taken in the general signification.§ Although, therefore, many ways

* Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι τοῦ μόνου δημιουργοῦ τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας ἀνοηγῆται, καὶ σπείρειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀστράς, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τίκτους τὰ καλὰ. Philo. de Alleg.

† 1 John iii. 2. καὶ ὅπου ἑφανέρωθον.

‡ Adoptio naturæ similitudo est, ut

aliquis filium habere possit, quem non generavit. Cui Inst. 1. t. v. §. 1. τί ἐστιν υἱοθεσία; νομίμη πράξις μιμουμένη τὴν φύσιν πρὸς παῖδων παραμυθίαν ἐκτεταταμένη. Theoph. Inst. 1. t. xi.

§ Ἡ υἱοθεσία Ἐρωμαῖνῳ φανῆ λίγεται ἀδοκ-

God be a Father; yet, lest any way might seem to exclude us from being his sons, he hath made us so also by adoption. Others are wont to fly to this, as to a comfort of their solitary condition, when either nature had denied them, or death bereft them of their offspring.* Whereas God doth it not for his own, but for our sakes; nor is the advantage his, but ours. "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God;" (1 John iii. 1.) that we, the sons of disobedient and condemned Adam by natural generation, should be translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God by adoption; that we, who were aliens, strangers, and enemies, should be assumed "unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, on whom all the family† of heaven and earth is named," (Eph. iii. 15.) and be made partakers of "the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints." (Eph. i. 28.) For as in the legal adoption, the father hath as full and absolute power over his adopted son as over his own issue‡ so in the spiritual, the adopted sons have a clear and undoubted right of inheritance. He, then, who hath "predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself," (Eph. i. 5.) hath thereby another kind of paternal relation, and so we receive the "Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." (Rom. viii. 15.)

The necessity of this faith in God as in our Father, appeareth, first, in that it is the ground of all our filial fear, honour and obedience due unto him upon this relation. "Honour thy father is the first commandment with promise," (Eph. vi. 1, 2.) written in tables of stone with the finger of God; and, "children obey your parents in the Lord," is

τίον αὐτῷ ὡς πατρὶν ὄνομα εἰς δύο διαιρεῖται, εἰς ἀδελφότητα, καὶ τὴν ἐμάνυμον ἀδελφότητα. Theoph. *ibid.*

* Cuius Inst. 2. tit. 5. §. 4. Spadones autem qui generare non possunt, adoptare possunt; et licet filios generare non possint, quos adoptaverunt filios habere possunt, Ulp. tit. §. 6. Hi qui generare non possunt, velut spado, utroque modo possunt adoptare. Idem juris est in cœlibe. Theoph. tit. 11. τυχὼν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν καίαν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐπὶ γάμον, ἢ εἶναι μὲν, μὴ παιδοποιῆσαι δὲ, ἢ παιδοποιῆσαι μὲν, ἀποβάλλουσι δὲ τούτους, τὸ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐλάττωμα ἢ τὸ συμβῆναι διὰ νόσημα βουδύματος ἡλικιωσίου, ἡλασθέντος ἡλικιωσίου. Leonis Novell. 27. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπαιδία λίσιν

βουδόμενος τὸ διωτήριον νόμος υιοθετεῖσθαι προστάσσει, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ κτῶσθαι, ὃ μὴ εἰσπορῶν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως.

† In alienam familiam transitus, is the description in Agellius, l. 5. 19. Cum in alienam familiam inque liberorum locum extranei sumuntur, aut per prætorem fit, aut per populum: quod per prætorem fit, adoptio dicitur; quod per populum, arrogatio, *id.*

‡ As appears out of the form of Rogation: yet extant in this manner: Vellitis, jubeatis, quirites, uti Lucius Valerius Lucio Titio, tam jure legeque filius sibi siet, quam si ex eo patre matreque familia ejus natus esset, utique ei vitæ necisque in eo potestas siet, uti patri endo filio est? *Id.*

an evangelical precept, but founded upon principles of reason and justice; "for this is right," saith St. Paul. And if there be such a rational and legal obligation of honour and obedience to the fathers of our flesh, how much more must we think ourselves obliged to him whom we believe to be our heavenly and everlasting Father? "A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master. If then I be a father, where is my honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of hosts." (Malac. i. 6.) If we be heirs, we must be coheirs with Christ; if sons, we must be brethren to the only-begotten: but being he came not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him, he acknowledgeth no fraternity but with such as do the same; as he hath said, "Who-soever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother." (Matt. xii. 50.) If it be required of a bishop in the church of God, to be "one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity;" (1 Tim. iii. 4.) what obedience must be due, what subjection must be paid, unto the father of the family?

The same relation in the object of our faith is the life of our devotions, the expectation of all our petitions. Christ who taught his disciples, and us in them, how to pray, propounded not the knowledge of God, though without that he could not hear us; neither represented he his power, though without that he cannot help us; but comprehended all in this relation, "When ye pray, say, Our Father." (Luke xi. 2.) This prevents all vain repetitions of our most earnest desires, and gives us full security to cut off all tautology, for "Our Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask him." (Matt. vi. 8.) This creates a clear assurance of a grant without mistake of our petition: "What man is there of us, who if his son ask bread, will give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If we then who were evil know how to give good gifts unto our children; how much more shall our Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" *

Again, this paternity is the proper foundation of our Christian patience, sweetening all afflictions with the name and nature of fatherly corrections. "† We have had fathers

* Matt. vii. 9—11. Ἀντὶ πάντων ἐλεησέων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείᾳ. Zenob.

† Heb. xii. 9, 10. Quod si a Domino

nonnulla credimus incuti, cui magis patientiam quam Domino præbeamus? Quin insuper gratulari et gaudere nos docet

of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; shall we not much rather be in subjection to the Father of spirits, and live?" Especially considering, that "they chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness:" they, as an argument of their authority; he, as an assurance of his love: they, that we might acknowledge them to be our parents; he, that he may persuade us that we are his sons: "for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." And what greater incitement unto the exercise of patience is imaginable unto a suffering soul, than to see in every stroke the hand of a Father, in every affliction a demonstration of his love? Or how canst thou repine, or be guilty of the least degree of impatency, even in the sharpest corrections, if "thou shalt know with thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee?" (Deut. viii. 5.) How canst thou not be comforted, and even rejoice in the midst of thy greatest sufferings, when thou knowest that he which striketh pitieth, he which afflicteth is as it were afflicted with it? "For like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." (Psal. ciii. 13.)

Lastly, the same relation strongly inferreth an absolute necessity of our imitation; it being clearly vain to assume the title of son without any similitude of the father. What is the * general notion of generation but the production of the like; nature, ambitious of perpetuity, striving to preserve the species in the multiplication and succession of individuals? And this similitude consisteth partly in essentials, or the likeness of nature; partly in accidentals, or the likeness in figure,† or affections.‡ "Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image:" (Gen. v. 3.) and can we imagine those the sons of God which are no way like him? A similitude of nature we must not, of figure we cannot pretend unto: it remains then only that we bear some likeness in our actions and affections. "Be ye therefore followers

dignatione divine castigationis. Ego, inquit, quos diligo castigo. O servum illum beatum cujus emendationi Dominus instat, cui dignatur irasci, quem admonendi dissimulatione non decipit: *Tertul. de Pat.*

* Πάν τὸ γεννῆν ὁμοίον ἑαυτοῦ γενεῇ. *Epiph. Her. 76. 6.*

† Τὰ ὅμοια γίνεσθαι τοῖς γενήσεσι τὰ ἑκγονα, εὐλογον. *Aristot. de Generat. Animal. l. i. c. 9.*

‡ Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis. Est in juveniois, est in equis patrum virtus, nec imbellem feroces progenerant aquilæ columbam. *Hor. Ode.*

(saith the apostle, or rather imitators) of God, as dear children." * What he hath revealed of himself, that we must express within ourselves. Thus God spake unto the children of Israel whom he styled his son, "Ye shall be holy, for I am holy." (Lev. xi. 44. xix. 2. xx. 7.) And the apostle upon the same ground speaketh unto us, as to obedient children: "As he that hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation." (1 Pet. i. 15.) It is part of the general beneficence and universal goodness of our God, that "he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust:" (Matt. v. 44, 45.) *vide S. Aug.* in Psal. c. These impartial beams and undistinguishing showers are but to shew us what we ought to do, and to make us fruitful in the works of God; for no other reason Christ has given us this command, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven."† No other command did he give upon this ground, but, "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father is merciful."

So necessary is this faith in God, as in our Father, both for direction to the best of actions, and for consolation in the worst of conditions.

But although this be very necessary, yet is it not the principal or most proper explication of God's paternity. For as we find one person in a more peculiar manner the Son of God, so must we look upon God as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son. "I ascend unto my Father and your Father,"‡ saith our Saviour; the same of both, but in a different manner, denoted by the article prefixed before the one, and not the other: which distinction in the original

* Ephes. v. 1. *μυμνρα*. Filii hominum sunt quando male faciunt; quando bene, filii Dei. *S. Aug.* in Psal. lii.

† Luke vi. 36. Similitudinem patris actus indicent sobolis, similitudo operis similitudinem indicet generis: actus nomen confirmet, ut nomen genus demonstrat. *Aug. de Temp. Serm.* 76.

‡ John xx. 17. *Αναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν*. Had *πατέρα* in both places had its article, there would have seemed two Fathers: had the article been prefixed to *πατέρα ὑμῶν*, he would have seemed first ours, then Christ's: but being prefixed to *πατέρα μου*, it shews God to be principally and originally

Christ's, and by our reference unto him, our Father, *Πατέρα μου, μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τῇ θείότητι, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν διὰ χάριν ἐν τῇ υἱοθεσίᾳ*. *Epphan.* *Harv.* 69. §. 55. οὐκ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ διπλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν πρῶτον τὸ οὐκ εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν· εἰτ' ἐκαναγαγόν καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, ὅτι κατὰ θεῖον. *S. Cyril.* *Catech.* 7. Ἐτίς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ, καὶ ἐτίς ἐστις ἡμῶν, πάντι μὲν οὖν. Εἰ γὰρ τῶν δικαίων ἐτίς ἐστις θεὸς καὶ τῶν ἁλλων ἀνθρώπων, πολλὰ μᾶλλον τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν. Ἐκτιδὼν γὰρ εἶπε, εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ἵνα μὴ ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσῃ τι φαντασθῶσι, δίδωσι τε τὸ ἐπιλλαγμένον. *S. Chrysost.* *ad locum*.

we may preserve by this translation, "I ascend unto the Father of me, and Father of you;" first of *me*, and then of *you*: not therefore his, because ours; but therefore ours, because his. So far we are the sons of God, as we are like unto him; and our similitude unto God consisteth in our conformity to the likeness of his Son. "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren." (Rom. viii. 29.) He the first-born, and we sons, as brethren unto him: he "appointed heir of all things, and we heirs of God, as joint-heirs with him." (Heb. i. 2.) Thus God "sent forth his Son, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father."* By his mission we are adopted, and by his Spirit call we God our Father. So we are no longer "servants, but *now* sons; and if sons, then heirs of God, *but still* through Christ." (Gal. iv. 7.) It is true, indeed, that "both he that sanctifieth, *that is*, Christ, and they who are sanctified, *that is*, faithful Christians, are all of one," the same Father, the same God; "for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren:" (Heb. ii. 11.) yet are they† not all of him after the same manner, not the "many sons *like the* Captain of their salvation:" (Heb. ii. 10.) but Christ the beloved, the first-born, the only-begotten, the Son after a more peculiar and more excellent manner; the rest with relation unto, and dependence on, his Sonship; as given unto him, "Behold I, and the children which God hath given me;" (Isa. viii. 18. Heb. ii. 13.) as being so by faith in him, "For we are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus;" (Gal. iii. 26.) as receiving the right of Sonship from him. "For as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God." (John i. 12.) Among‡ all the sons of God there is none like to that one Son of God. And if there be so great a disparity in the filiation, we must make as great a difference in the correspondent relation.

* Gal. iv. 4—6. Hoc facit Deus ex filiis hominum filius Dei, quia ex filio Dei fecit Deus filium hominis. S. Aug. in Psal. lii.

† Dicimur et filii Dei, sed ille aliter filius Dei. S. August. in Psal. lxxxviii. ἵστί τοίνυν ὁ Θεὸς πολλῶν μὲν καταχρηστικῶς πατρὸς, ἵνῃς δὲ μόνου φύσει καὶ ἀληθινῇ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ. S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 7.

‡ Ergo nemo in filiis Dei similis erit filio Dei. Et ipse dictus est filius Dei, et nos dicti sumus filii Dei: sed quis erit similis Domino in filiis Dei? Ille unicus, nos multi. Ille unus, nos in illo unum. Ille natus, nos adoptati. Ille ab æterno filius unigenitus per naturam, nos a tempore facti per gratiam. S. Aug. Psal. lxxxviii.

There is one degree of sonship founded on creation, and that is the lowest, as belonging unto all, both good and bad : another degree above that there is grounded upon regeneration, or adoption, belonging only to the truly faithful in this life : and a third above the rest founded on the resurrection, or collation of the eternal inheritance, and the similitude of God, appertaining to the saints alone in the world to come : for “ we are now the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be ; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him.” (1 John iii. 2.) And there is yet another degree of filiation, of a greater eminency and a different nature, appertaining properly to none of these, but to the true Son of God alone, who amongst all his brethren hath only received the title of his *own Son*,* and a singular testimony from heaven. “ This is my beloved Son,”† even in the presence of John the baptist, even in the midst of Moses and Elias (who are certainly the sons of God by all the other three degrees of filiation), and therefore hath called God after a peculiar way *his own Father*.‡ And so at last we come unto the most singular and eminent paternal relation, “ Unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore ;” (2 Cor. xi. 31.) *the Father* of him, and of us, but not the Father of us as of him.§ Christ hath taught us to say, *Our Father* : a form of speech which he never used himself ; sometimes he calls him *the Father* ; sometimes *my Father*, sometimes *your*, but never *our* : he makes no such conjunction of us to himself, as to make no distinction between us and himself ; so conjoining us as to distinguish, though so distinguishing as not to separate us,

* Rom. viii. 32. Ut magnificentia Dei dilectionis ex comparationis genere nosceretur, non pepercisit Patrem proprio filio suo docuit. Nec utique pro adoptandis adoptato, neque pro creatis creaturæ ; sed pro alienis suis, pro connumerandis proprio. *Hilar. l. vi. de Trin.*

† Matt. iii. 17. xvii. 5. Anne ibi in eo quod dicitur, *hic est*, non hoc significare videtur, alios quidem cognominatos ab eo filios, sed hic filius meus est ? Dedit adoptionis plurimis nomen, sed iste mihi filius est ? *Id.*

‡ John v. 18. *ἡγάπησεν ἑαυτὸν τὸν Θεόν*, as Rom. viii. 32. *ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς οὐκ ἠέταρατο*.

§ Non sicut Christi pater, ita et nostri pater. Nunquam enim Christus ita nos

conjunxit, ut nullam distinctionem faceret inter nos et se. Ille enim filius æqualis patri, ille æternus cum patre, patrique cœternus : Nos autem facti per filium, adoptati per unicum. Proinde nunquam auditum est de ore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum ad discipulos loqueretur, dixisse illum de Deo summo Patre suo, Pater noster ; sed ut Pater meus dixit, aut Pater vester ; usque adeo ut quodam loco poneret hæc duo. Vado ad Deum meum, inquit et Deum vestrum. Quare non dixit Deum nostrum ? et Patrem meum dixit, et Patrem vestrum ; non dixit nostrum ? Sic jungit ne distinguat, sic distinguit ut non sejungat. Unum nos vult esse in se, unum autem Patrem et se. *S. Aug. in Joan. Tract. 21.*

Indeed, I conceive this as the most eminent notion of God's paternity, so the original and proper explication of this article of the CREED: and that not only because the ancient fathers deliver no other exposition of it; but also because that which I conceive to be the first occasion, rise, and original of the CREED itself, requireth this as the proper interpretation. Immediately before the ascension of our Saviour, he said unto his apostles, "All power is given unto me in heaven and earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.) From this sacred form of baptism did the church derive the rule of faith,* requiring the profession of belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, before they could be baptized in their name. When the eunuch asked Philip, "What doth hinder me to be baptized? Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest:" and when the eunuch replied, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; he baptized him." (Acts viii. 36, 37.) And before that, the Samaritans, "when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, were baptized, both men and women." (Acts viii. 12.) For as in the Acts of the Apostles there is no more expressed than that they baptized "in the name of Jesus Christ:" (Acts ii. 38. viii. 16. x. 48. xix. 5.) so is no more expressed of the faith required in them who were to be baptized, than to believe in the same name. But being the Father and the Holy Ghost were likewise mentioned in the first institution, being the expressing of one doth not exclude the other, being it is certain that from the apostles' time the names of all three were used:

* Arius and Euzoios, in their Creed delivered to Constantine: *Ταύτην τὴν πίστιν παρελήφαμεν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, λέγωντος τοῦ κυρίου τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, Προευθύντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἴθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.* Socr. l. i. c. 26. And upon the exhibiting this Confession of Faith, they were restored to the Communion of the Church by the Synod of Jerusalem. Sozom. l. ii. c. 27. In the same manner Eusebius delivered his Creed unto the council of Nice, concluding and deducing it from the same text, καὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀποστείλλειν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς, ὥστε Προευθύντες μαθη-

τεύσατε, &c. Socrat. l. i. c. 8. Theodor. l. i. c. 12. The same is also alleged by the council of Antioch, under the emperor Constantius and Pope Julius. Socrat. l. ii. c. 10. Vide S. Athanas. in Epist. ad ubique Orthodox. Orat. contra Gregales Sabellii, et contra Arianos ex Deo Dens. Vide Basil de Spirit. S. So Vigilii Tapensis Dial. l. i. makes Arius and Athanasius jointly speak these words: Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, et in Spiritum S. Hæc est fidei nostræ regula, quam cœlesti magisterio Dominus tradidit apostolis, dicens, ite, baptizate, &c.

hence upon the same ground was required faith, and a profession of belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Again, as the eunuch said not simply, I believe in the Son, but "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;" as a brief explication of that part of the institution which he had learned before of Philip: so they who were converted unto Christianity were first taught not the bare names, but the explications and descriptions of them in a brief, easy, and familiar way; which when they had rendered, acknowledged, and professed, they were baptized in them. And these being regularly and constantly used, made up the rule of faith, that is, the CREED. The truth of which may sufficiently be made apparent to any who shall seriously consider the constant practice of the church, from the first age unto this present, of delivering the rule of faith to those which were to be baptized, and so requiring of themselves, or their sureties, an express recitation, profession, or acknowledgment of the CREED. From whence this observation is properly deducible; that in what sense the name of *Father* is taken in the form of baptism, in the same it also ought to be taken in this article. And being nothing can be more clear than that, when it is said, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son," the notion of *Father* hath in this particular no other relation but to that Son whose name is joined with his; and as we are baptized into no other son of that *Father*, but that only-begotten Christ Jesus, so into no other father, but the Father of that only-begotten: it followeth, that the proper explication of the first words of the CREED is this, *I believe in God the Father of Christ Jesus.*

In vain then is that vulgar distinction applied unto the explication of the CREED, whereby the Father is considered both personally, and essentially: personally, as the first in the glorious Trinity, with relation and opposition to the Son; essentially, as comprehending the whole Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For that the Son is not here comprehended in the Father is evident, not only out of the original, or occasion, but also from the very letter of the CREED, which teacheth us *to believe in God the Father, and in his Son*; for if the Son were included in the Father, then were the Son the Father of himself. As therefore when I say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his Son*, I must necessarily understand the Son of that Father whom I mentioned in the first

article; so when I said, *I believe in God the Father*, I must as necessarily be understood of the * Father of him whom I call *his Son* in the second article.

Now as it cannot be denied that God may several ways be said to be the Father of Christ; first, as he was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; (Luke i. 35.) secondly, as he was sent by him with special authority, as the King of Israel; (John i. 49, 50. x. 35, 36.) thirdly, as he was raised (Acts xiii. 32, 33.) from the dead, out of the womb of the earth unto immortal life, and made heir of all things in his Father's house: so must we not doubt but, beside all these, God is the Father of that Son in a more eminent and peculiar manner, as he is and ever was with God, and God: (John i. 1.) which shall be demonstrated fully in the second article, when we come to shew how Christ is the only-begotten Son. And according unto this paternity by way of generation totally Divine, in which he who begetteth is God, and he which is begotten the same God, do we believe in God, as the eternal Father of an eternal Son. Which relation is coeval with his essence: so that we are not to imagine one without the other; but as we profess him always God, so must we acknowledge him always Father,† and that in a far more proper manner than the same title can be given to any creature.‡ Such is the fluctuant condition of human generation, and of those relations which arise from thence, that he which is this day a son, the next may prove a father, and within the space of one day more, without any real alteration in himself, become neither son nor father, losing one relation by the death of him that begot him, and the other by the departure of him that was begotten by him. But in

* Pater cum andis, Filii intellige Patrem qui filius supradictus sit imago substantiæ. Ruff. in Sym.

† Ἄμα γὰρ ἵσθι Θεὸς καὶ ἄμα πατὴρ οὐχ ὁμοειδόμενος ἑαυτῷ τοῦ εἶναι τὴν γέννησιν ἀλλ' ἰμαὶ τοῦ εἶναι πατὴρ καὶ ὑποστάς καὶ νοούμενος. S. Cyril. Dial. de Trin. 2. Πατὴρ δὲ πατὴρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν πατὴρ ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν ὁ πατὴρ πατὴρ. Epiph. Hæres. 62. Sicut nunquam fuit non Deus, ita nunquam fuit non Pater, a quo Filius natus. Gennad. de Eccles. dogm. c. 1. Credimus in Deum, eundem confitemur Patrem, ut eundem semper habuisse Patrem nos credamus. Chrysost. Serm. 59. Inest Deo pietas, est in Deo semper affectio, paternitas permanet apud illum; semper ergo Filium

fuisse credas, ne Patrem semper non fuisse blasphemēs. Id. Serm. 62. Adverte, quod cum Dei Patris nomen in confessione conjungit, ostendit quod non ante Deus esse coepit, et postea Pater, sed sine ullo initio et Deus semper et Pater est. Aug. de Temp. Serm. 132.

‡ Deus solus proprie verus est Pater, qui sine initio et sine Pater est; non enim aliquando coepit esse quod Pater est, sed semper Pater est, semper habens Filium ex se genitum. Faustinus lib. contra Arianos. Καὶ τῆς θεότητος μόνος ὁ πατὴρ κυριῶς ὁ πατὴρ ἵσθι, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κυριῶς υἱὸς ἵσθι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς διὰ μέσον ἱσθῆναι τὸ πατὴρ δὲ πατὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ υἱὸς δὲ υἱὸς εἶναι. S. Athanas. Disp. contra Arianos.

the Godhead these relations are more proper, because fixed; the Father having never been a son, the Son never becoming father, in reference to the same kind of generation.*

A farther reason of the propriety of God's paternity appears from this, that he hath begotten a Son of the same nature and essence with himself, not only specifically, but individually, as I shall also demonstrate in the exposition of the second article. For generation being the production of the like, and that likeness being the similitude of substance;† where is the nearest identity of nature, there must be also the most proper generation, and consequently he which generateth the most proper father. If therefore man, who by the benediction of God given unto him at his first creation in these words, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth," (Gen. i. 28.) begetteth a son "in his own likeness, after his image;" (Gen. v. 3.) that is, of the same human nature, of the same substance with him (which if he did not, he should not according to the benediction multiply himself or man at all), with which similitude of nature many accidental disparities may consist, if by this act of generation he obtaineth the name of father, because, and in regard, of the similitude of his nature in the son, how much more properly must that name belong unto God himself, who hath begotten a Son of a nature and essence so totally like, so totally the same, that no accidental disparity can imaginably consist with that identity?

That God is the proper and eternal Father of his own eternal Son is now declared: what is the eminency or excellency of this relation followeth to be considered. In general then we may safely observe, that in the very name of father there is something of eminence which is not in that of son;‡ and some kind of priority we must ascribe unto him whom we call the first, in respect of him whom we term the second, person;

* Ἐπὶ μόνῃς τῆς θεότητος τὸ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ υἱὸς ἵστανται καὶ ἵστανται ἀλλ' τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰ πατὴρ λέγεται τις, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου γίγνεται υἱός, καὶ εἰ υἱὸς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου λέγεται, πατὴρ. ὥστε ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ σώζεσθαι κυρίως τὸ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς ὄνομα. S. Athanas. tom. 1. Πατὴρ κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱός. ὥστε καὶ υἱὸς κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατὴρ. τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα οὐ κυρίως, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς. Greg. Naz. Orat. 35.

† Etiamsi Filius hominis homo in qui-

busdam similis, in quibusdam sit dissimilis Patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantiæ est, negari verum Filius non potest, et quia verus est filius, negari ejusdem substantiæ non potest. S. Aug. l. iii. cont. Max. c. 15. Vide Tho. Sum. p. 1. quæst. 33. art. 2. ad quart.

‡ Αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς μᾶλλον ἵσται τῷ υἱῷ. Syn. Sordic. Theod. l. 2. c. 8. Insinuat nobis in Patre autoritas, in filio nativitas. S. August.

and as we cannot but ascribe it, so must we endeavour to preserve it.*

Now that privilege or priority consisteth not in this,† that the essence or attributes of the one are greater than the essence or attributes of the other (for we shall hereafter demonstrate them to be the same in both); but only in this, that the Father hath that essence of himself, the Son by communication from the Father. From whence he acknowledgeth that he is “from him,” (John vii. 29.) that he “liveth by him,” (John vi. 57.) that the “Father gave him to have life in himself,” (John v. 26.) and generally referreth all things to him, as received from him. Wherefore in this sense some of the ancients have not stuck to interpret those words, “the Father is greater than I,”‡ of Christ as the

* Τὸ μὴ ἀγενήτω πατρὶ οὐκ αἰὶν ἄξιωμα φυλακτῶν, μηδὲνα τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸν αἰτίον λόγοντας. Alex. apud Theod. l. i. c. 4.

† Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν αἰτίων πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν σχέσιν, πορευτέον τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν πατέρα φαμέν, κατὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως διαφορὰν οὐκ αἰν. S. Basil. contra Eunom.

‡ John xiv. 28. μείζων, εἶπεν, οὐ μείζουμι, οὐδὲ ἡγείμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατέρος γένεσιν. S. Athanas. contra Arianos, l. ii. ἀιστανται τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον ἐνταῦθα τὸ μείζων λέγεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῷ υἱῷ, κατὰ τοῦτο μείζων ὁ πατὴρ, ὡς αἰτίος καὶ ἀρχή. διὸ καὶ ὁ κύριος εἶπεν, Ὁ πατὴρ μου μείζων μου ἐστίν, καὶ δὲ πατὴρ δηλοῦντι. τὸ δὲ πατὴρ τί ἄλλο σημαίνει, ἢ οὐχὶ τὸ, αἰτία εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντος; S. Basil. contra Eunom. l. i. And the same S. Basil doth not only acknowledge this to be true in respect of the divine nature of Christ, but thinketh the divinity of the Son may be proved from hence. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως, τὸ θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ δηλοῦσθαι σπουδίσταται. τὰς γὰρ συγκατάθεσις οἶδα κυρίως ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως γινώσκουσαν ἀγγέλλειν γὰρ ἀγγέλου λόγοντας μείζονα, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων διχαίστερον, καὶ πτωχὸν πτωχοῦ ταχυτέρον· εἰ τοῖνυν αἱ συγκαταθέσεις ἐπὶ τὴν θεοῦ γίνονται, μείζων δὲ κατὰ σύγκρισιν εἰρηται ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, θεοῦ εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ ὁ υἱός. Ad Cæsarienses Epist. 141. τὸ μείζων μὲν ἐστὶν τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ἴσον τῆς φύσεως. Naz. Orat. 36. et Orat. 40. οὐ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τὸ μείζων, κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν δέ. Vide Epiroph. in Ancor. c. 17. εἰ δὲ λέγει τις μείζονα εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καθὼ αἰτίος τοῦ υἱοῦ. οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀντιφύμεν. S. Chrys. Homil. in Joan. 75. ἴσος τοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ τὴν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον ὑπάρχων ὁ υἱός τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ὁμοιος κατὰ πάντα, μείζονα αὐτὸν φησὶν ὡς ἀναρχόν,

ἔχον ἀρχὴν κατὰ μόνον τὸ ἐξ οὗ, εἰ καὶ συνδρομὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπαρχὴν ἔχει, S. Cyril. Theaur. c. 11. and Isidore Pelusiota. Epist. 334. l. iii. cites this saying of an ancient father: Καὶ τὸ μείζων ἴσεται ἢ γεννητῶν, καὶ τὸ ἴσον καθὼ θεὸς καὶ θεοῦ εἶναι. So Vigilius professes to believe the Son æqualem per omnia Patri, excepto eo quod ille ingenuus est, et iste genitus. De Trin. l. xi. Ideo totum quod habet, quodque potest, non tribuit sibi, sed Patri, quia non est a seipso, sed a Patre. Æqualis est enim Patri, sed hoc quoque accepit a Patre. S. August. Epist. 66. Necesse est quodammodo prior sit, qua Pater sit, quoniam antecedit necesse est eum qui habet originem, ille qui originem nescit. Simul ut hic minor sit, dum in illo esse se scit habens originem, quia nascitur. Novatianus. Major itaque Pater filio est, et plane major, cui tantum donat esse quantus ipse est, cui innascibilitatis esse imaginem sacramento nativitatis impertit, quem ex se in forma sua generat. S. Hilar. de Trin. l. ix. Non præstantem quoniam cuicumque genere substantiæ, sed subjectum alterum alteri nativitate nature: Patrem in eo majorem esse quod Pater est, Filium in eo non minorem esse quod filius sit. Id. de Syn. contra Arianos. Quis Patrem non potius confitebitur, ut ingenuum a genito, ut Patrem a Filio, ut eum qui miserit ab eo, qui missus est, ut volentem ab ipso qui obediatur? et ipse nobis testis est, Pater major me est. Id. de Trin. l. iii. In eo quod in sese sunt Dei, ex Deo divinitatem cognosce; in eo vero quod Pater major est, confessionem paternam autoritatis intellige, Id. l. xi. And before all these Alexander bishop of Alexandria; Τὸ δὲ ἀγένητον τῷ πατρὶ μόνον

Son of God, as the second person in the blessed Trinity; but still with reference not unto his essence, but his generation, by which he is understood to have his being from the Father, who only hath it of himself, and is the original of all power and essence in the Son. "I can of mine own self do nothing," (John v. 30.) saith our Saviour, because he is not of himself;* and whosoever receives his being, must receive his power from another, especially where the essence and the power are undeniably the same, as in God they are. "The Son then can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do," (John v. 19.) because he hath no power of himself, but what the Father gave.† And being he gave him all the power, as communicating his entire and undivided essence, therefore "what things soever he doth, these also doth the Son likewise," by the same power by which the Father worketh, because he had received the same Godhead in which the Father subsisteth. There is nothing more intimate and essential to any thing than the life thereof, and that in nothing so conspicuous as in the Godhead, where life and truth are so inseparable, that there can be no living God but the true, no true god but the living. "The Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting King," saith the prophet Jeremy: (Jer. x. 10.) and St. Paul putteth the Thessalonians in mind, how they "turned from idols to serve the living and true God,"

ἰδιωμα παρῆναι δοξάζοντες, ἄρα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες τοῦ σωτῆρος, Ὁ πατὴρ μου μόνον μου ἵστί. Theodor. Hist. l. i. c. 4. Lastly, we have the testimony of Photius, that many of the ancient fathers so expounded it: Τὴν, Ὁ πατὴρ μου μόνον μου ἵστί, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωνὴν διαφέρουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐξελάσαντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μόνον αἰετοῦσθαι. Epist. 176. Aequalis Patri; sed major Pater, quod ipse dedit ipsi omnia, et causa est ipsi Filio ut sit, ut iste modo sit. Victor. Afr. l. i. Pater, inquit, major me est, merito major, quia solus hic auctor sine auctore est. Phedadius.

* Quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, a Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet a Patre ut faciat? quia a Patre habet ut filius sit; quia a Patre habet ut possit; quia a Patre habet ut sit. S. Aug. Tract. 20. in Joann.

† Non alia potentia est in Filio, et alia substantia; sed ipsa est potentia quae substantia; substantia ut sit, potentia ut possit. Ergo quia Filius de Patre est,

ideo dixit, Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam; quia non est Filius a se, ideo non potest a se. Ib. Totum quod est, de Patre est; totum quod potest, de Patre est; quoniam quod potest et est, de Patre totum est, Ib. Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem: quia de Patre est totus Filius et tota substantia et potentia ejus ex illo est qui genuit eum. Id. Tract. 21. Et primum Filium cognosce, cum dicitur, Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem. Habes nativitatem Filii, quae ab se nihil potest facere nisi videat. In eo autem quod a se nihil potest, innascibilitatis admittit errorem. Ab se enim non potest posse nativitas. S. Hilar. de Trim. l. vii. Dum non a se facti, ad id quod agit secundum nativitatem sibi Pater auctor est. Id. l. xi. Autore non discrevit cum ait, Non potest a se facere: obedientiam significat cum addit: Nisi quod viderit patrem facientem. Id. de Syn.

(1 Thess. i. 9.) Now life is otherwise in God than in the creatures: in him originally, in them derivatively: in him as in the fountain of absolute perfection, in them by way of dependence and participation: our life is in him, but his is in himself; and as "the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself:—" * both the same life, both in themselves, both in the same degree, as the one, so the other; but only with this difference, the Father giveth it, and the Son receiveth it.† From whence he professeth of himself, "that the living Father sent him, and that he liveth by the Father."‡

We must not therefore so far endeavour to involve ourselves in the darkness of this mystery, as to deny that glory which is clearly due unto the Father; whose pre-eminence undeniably consisteth in this, that he is God not of any other, but of himself, and that there is no other person who is God, but is God of himself. It is no diminution to the Son to say he is from another, for his very name imports as much; but it were a diminution to the Father to speak so of him: and there must be some pre-eminence, where there is place for derogation. What the Father is,§ he is from

* John v. 26. Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso: ut hoc solum intersit inter Patrem et Filium, quia Pater habet vitam in semetipso quam nemo ei dedit, Filius autem habet vitam in semetipso quam Pater dedit. *S. Aug. Tract. 19, in John.* Incommutabilis est vita Filii, sicut et Patris, et tamen de Patre est: et inseparabilis est operatio Patris et Filii; sed tamen ita operari Filio de illo est de quo ipse est, id est, de Patre, *Id. de Trin. l. ii. c. 1.*

† Sicut habet, dedit, qualem habet dedit, quantum habet, tantum dedit. *Id. contra Maxim. l. iii. c. 14.* Ergo quod dicitur dedit Filio, tale est ac si diceretur, genuit Filium; generando enim dedit. Quomodo enim dedit ut esset, sic dedit ut vita esset, et sic dedit ut in semetipso vita esset. *Id. Tract. 22, in John.* Tali confessione originis suæ indiscretæ naturæ perfecta nativitas est. Quod enim in utroque vita est, id in utroque significatur essentia; et vita quæ generatur ex vita, id est, essentia quæ de essentia nascitur, dum non dissimilis nascitur, scilicet quia vita ex vita est, tenet in se indissimilem naturam originis suæ, quia et natæ et gignentis essentia, id est, vitæ quæ ha-

betur et data est, similitudo non discrepet, *S. Hilar. de Synod. advers. Arianos.* Quia ergo apparat vita Patris hoc esse quod ipse est; sicut habet vitam in se, sic dedit; sic dedit Filio habere vitam, id est, sic esse Filii, sicut esse Patris. *Vigil. Africanus Disput.* In vita naturæ et essentie, significatio est, quæ sicut habetur, ita data esse docetur ad habendum. *S. Hilar. Ib.*

‡ Propter Patrem vivit Filius quod ex Patre Filius est: propter Patrem, quod eructatum est verbum ex Patris corde, quod a Patre processit, quod ex paterno generatus est utero, quod fons Pater Filii est, quod radix Pater Filii est. *S. Ambras. de Fide, l. iv. c. 5.*

§ Pater de nullo Patre Filius de Deo. Patre: Pater quod est a nullo est; quod autem Pater est, propter Filium est. Filius vero et quod Filius est, propter Patrem est, et quod est, a Patre est. *S. Aug. Tract. 19, in Joh.* Filium dicimus Deum de Deo; Patrem autem Deum tantum, non de Deo. Unde manifestum est quod Filius habeat alium de quo sit, et cui Filius est; Pater autem non Filium de quo sit habeat, sed cui Pater sit. Omnis enim Filius de Patre est quod est, et Patri Filius est: nullus autem Pater de Filio

none; what the Son is, he is from him: what the first is, he giveth; what the second is, he receiveth. The first is a Father, indeed, by reason of his Son, but he is not God by reason of him; whereas the Son is not so only in regard of the Father, but also God by reason of the same.

Upon this pre-eminence (as I conceive) may safely be grounded the congruity of the Divine mission. We often read that Christ was sent, from whence he bears the name of an "Apostle" (Heb. iii. 1.) himself, as well as those whom he therefore named so, because as the "Father sent him, so sent he them." (John xx. 21.) The Holy Ghost is also said to be sent, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by the Son: but we never read that the Father was sent at all,* there being an authority in that name which seems inconsistent with this mission.† In the parable, "a certain householder which planted a vineyard, first sent his servants to the husbandmen, and again other servants, but last of all he sent unto them his Son:" (Matt. xxi. 33, &c.) it had been inconsistent even with the literal sense of an historical parable, as not at all consonant to the rational customs of men, to have said, that last of all the Son sent his Father to them. So God placing man in the vineyard of his church, first sent his servants the prophets, by whom he "spake at sundry times and in divers manners, but in the last days he sent his Son:" (Heb. i. 1, 2.) and it were as incongruous‡ and inconsistent with the Divine

est quod est. *Id. de Trin.* l. ii. c. 1. Filius non hoc tantum habet nascendo, ut Filius sit, sed omnino ut sit. *Ibid.* l. v. c. 14. Filius non tantum ut sit Filius quod relative dicitur, sed omnino ut sit, ipsam substantiam nascendo habet. *Ibid.* c. 15. Pater non habet Patrem de quo sit, Filius autem de Patre est ut sit, atque ut illi cœternus sit. *Ibid.* l. vi. c. 10. Ab ipso, inquit, sum; quia Filius de Patre, et quicquid est Filius, de illo est cuius est Filius. Ideo Dominum Jesum dicimus Deum de Deo, Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo; et dicimus Dominum Jesum lumen de lumine, Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen. Ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, ab ipso sum. *Id. Tract.* 31. in *Joh.* Pater non est si non habeat Filium, et Filius non est si non habeat Patrem: sed tamen Filius Deus de Patre, Pater autem Deus, sed non de Filio: Pater Filius, non Deus de Filio; ille autem Filius Patris, et Deus de Patre. *Id. Tract.* 50. in *Joh.* Hoc tamen inter Patrem et Filium interest,

quia Pater a nullo hoc accepit, Filius autem per generationem omnia Patris accepit. *Ambr. in Epist. ad Eph.* c. 7. Est ergo Deus Pater omnium, institutor, et creator, solus originem nesciens. *Novat de Trinit.* c. 31. whereas he speaks after of the Son, Est ergo Deus, sed in hoc ipsum genitus, ut esset Deus, Pater est Deus de quo Filius est Deus de quo autem Pater nullus est Deus. *S. Aug. Epist.* 66.

* Pater enim solus nusquam legitur missus. *S. Aug.* l. ii. de *Trin.* c. 5.

† Solus Pater non legitur missus, quia solus non habet authorem a quo genitus sit, vel a quo procedat. Et ideo non propter naturæ diversitatem, sed propter ipsam autoritatem, solus Pater non dicitur missus: non enim splendor aut fervor ignem, sed ignis mittit sive splendorem sive fervorem. *S. Aug. Serm. contra Arian.* c. 4. Qui mittit, potestatem suam in eo quod mittit, ostendit. *S. Hilar.* l. viii.

‡ Si voluisset Deus Pater per subiectam creaturam visibiliter apparere, absur-

generation, that the Son should send the Father into the world. "As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father," (John vi. 57.) saith our Saviour; intimating, that by whom he lived, by him he was sent, and therefore sent by him, because he lived by him, laying his generation as the proper ground of his mission. Thus he which begetteth sendeth, and he which is begotten is sent.* "For I am from him, and he hath sent me," (John vii. 29.) saith the Son: from whom I received my essence by communication, from him also received I this commission. As therefore it is more worthy to give than to receive, to send than to be sent: so in respect of the Sonship there is some priority in the Divine paternity: from whence divers of the ancients† read that place of St. John with this addition, "the Father (which sent me) is greater than I." (John xiv. 28.) He then is that God who "sent forth his Son, made of a woman, *that God who* hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father." (Gal. iv. 4. 6.) So that the authority of sending is in the Father: which therefore ought to be acknowledged, because upon this mission is founded the highest testimony of his love to man; for "herein is love (saith St. John), not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins."

Again, the dignity of the Father will farther yet appear from the order of the persons in the blessed Trinity, of which he is undoubtedly the first. For although in some passages of the apostolical discourses the Son may first be named, (as in that of St. Paul, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and

dissime tamen aut a Filio, quem genuit, aut a Spiritu Sancto, qui de illo procedit, missus diceretur. S. August. de Trin. lib. iv. cap. ult.

* Filius est igitur a Patre missus, non Pater a Filio? quia Filius est a Patre natus, non Pater a Filio. Fulgent. l. viii. contra Fabianum, in Collect. Theodul. de S. S. Quis autem Christianus ignorat quod Paterniserit, missusque sit Filius? Non enim genitorum ab eo quem genuit, sed genitum a genitore mitti oportebat. S. Augustin. contra Maximin. lib. iii. c. 12. Ubi audis, Ipse me misit, noli intelligere naturæ dissimilitudinem, sed generantis auctoritatem. Idem Tract. 31 in Joh. Ἐνταῦθα εἰς τὸ ἀποστείλας καὶ τὸ ἀποστολλόμενος, ἵνα διέξῃ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν μέλας εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, τούτῳ τὸν πατέρα. Epiph. Hæres. 69. 54. Hence the language of the schools,

Missio importat processionem originis, as Thom. Aquin. 10. q. 43. art. 1. ad primum; or auctoritatem Principii, as Durand. l. i. dist. 15. q. 1.

† Διγινώσκῃ γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτι ὁ ἀποστείλας με πατέρα μου ἵσῳ, saith Epiphanius of the Arians; and answering, grants in these words which follow, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀποστείλας με πατέρα, φάσκον, καὶ οὐχ ὁ κτίσας με. Hæres. 69. 53. To the same purpose Athanas. de Hum. Nat. fusc. et Cyril. Thesaur. l. ii. read it, ὁ σπένδων με πατέρα. And S. Basil makes Eunomius read it so, in his first book against him, and with that addition answers it. So the second confession of the council of Sirmium, both in the Latin original, and Greek translation. S. Hilary de Syn. S. Athanas. et Socr. l. ii. c. 3.

the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all;" (2 Cor. xiii. 14.) the latter part of which is nothing but an addition unto his constant benediction; and in others the Holy Ghost precedes the Son (as "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all:)" (1 Cor. xii. 4—6.) yet where the three Persons are barely enumerated, and delivered unto us as the rule of faith,* there that order is observed which is proper to them; witness the form of baptism, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" which order hath been perpetuated in all confessions of faith, and is for ever inviolably to be observed.† For that which is not instituted or invented by the will or design of man, but founded in the nature of things themselves,‡ is not to be altered at the pleasure of man. Now this priority doth properly and naturally result from the Divine paternity; so that the Son must necessarily be second unto the Father,§ from

* Παραδοξὸς ὁ κύριος τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπίσταν τις μαθητευόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ συνάπτει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. *S. Basil. Epist. 80.*

† Ἀκούοντες καὶ ἀπαρχαίροντες φυλάσσετε προσέχει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἢ ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῦ κυρίου τῆς φωνῆς παραλάβομεν, ἐπιφώντες, προσευχόμενοι μαθητεύσατε πάντα, &c. *S. Basil. Epist. 78.*

‡ Ἐστὶ τάξις εἰδὸς αἰα ἐν τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν θύσεως συνιστάμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία συμβαίνει, ὥς τὸ πρὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἔστι τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῦτοις γὰρ πρῶτον τὸ αὐτὴν λέγομεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, πῶς οὖν ὡλογον ἀρνησάμεν τὴν τάξιν ἐφ' ᾧ ἔστι πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν θέσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς ἡνωπαρχούσης ἀκολουθίας; *S. Basil. advers. Eunom. l. 1.*

§ Δευτερεύει μὲν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ αἰτίῳ δευτερεύει δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς αἰτίας λόγον. *S. Basil. apud Georg. Pachym. Hist. l. 7.* ὥς μὲν γὰρ υἱὸς τάξις μὲν δευτερός τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀξιώματι, οὗ ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ οὗ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ πρόδος καὶ προσαγωγή πρὸς τὸν Διὸν πατέρα, φύσις δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ δευτερός, διότι ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ μία οὐκ ἔστι διαιρέσις καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἰ καὶ ὑποβίβηκε τὸν υἱὸν τῇ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς ἀξιώματι, οὐκ ἐστ' ἐν αἰότητι ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ὑπάρχον φύσις. *S. Basil. contra Eunom. l. iii.* Si unum Deum singulariter nominamus, excludentes vocabulum secundæ personæ, favorem ejus

herensis approbamus quæ ipsum asserit Patrem passum. *Phabud. contra Arian.* Illi cui est in Filio secunda persona, est et tertia in Spiritu Sancto. *Id.* Sic alius a Filio Spiritus, sicut a Patre Filius: sic tertia in Spiritu ut in Filio secunda persona. *Ibid.* Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit, non tamen est separatim. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt; et tertius ubi est, tres sunt; tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio. *Tertul. advers. Praxeam c. 8.* Sic alium a se Paracletum quomodo et nos a Patre alium Filium; ut tertium gradum ostenderet in Paracleto, sicut nos secundum in Filio. *Ibid. c. 9.* Hic interim acceptum a Patre munus effudit Spiritum Sanctum, tertium nomen divinitatis, et tertium nomen majestatis, *cap. 30.* Ὁ ἐξ αἰτίου γεγονὼς υἱὸς, δεύτερος οὐ ἔστι υἱὸς κατὰ φύσιν, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τοιοῦτα εἶναι ἀλλοτρίως. *Euseb. Dem. Evang. l. iv. c. 3.* Et quidem confessione communi secunda quidem ab autore nativitas, est, quia ex Deo est; non tamen separabilis ab autore, quia in quantum sensus noster intelligimus tentabit excedere, in tantum necesse est etiam generatio excedat. *S. Hilar. de Trin. l. xii.* Tu enim res est, et unigenitus tuus est filius ex te. Deo Patre Deus vatus, et a te in naturæ veritate genitus, post te ita confitendum, ut tecum, quia æternæ originis sanæ es author æternus. Nam dum ex te est,

whom he receiveth his origination, and the Holy Ghost unto the Son. Neither can we be thought to want a sufficient foundation for this priority of the first Person of the Trinity, if we look upon the numerous testimonies of the ancient doctors of the church, who have not stuck to call the Father the origin,* the cause,† the au-

secundus a test. *Id.* This by the schools is called *ordo nature, ordo originis, ordo naturalis præsuppositionis*. Which being so generally acknowledged by the fathers, when we read in the Athanasian Creed, "In this Trinity none is afore or after other," we must understand it of the priority of perfection or time.

* Μικρόν γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀναξίων ἀρχῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ μικρόν τε καὶ ἀναξίον· μὴ δυνάμειος δὲ ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαθότητος τῆς ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πνεύματι Στοιχειώσεως. *Naz. Orat. 1. et 29.* Μὴ χρονικὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ καταδέξῃ τις λόγους, ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴν ἀρχὴν γίνωσκον τὸν πατέρα· ἀρχὴ γὰρ υἱοῦ ἀρχόντος. ἀκατάληπτος. *S. Cyril. Hier. Catech. 11.* Ἀρχὴ μὲν ὧν πατὴρ οὐδεμία, ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁ πατὴρ. *S. Basil. contra Eunom. 1. 2.* Φαίνεται λοιπὸν ὁ μακάριος εὐαγγελιστὴς σαφέστερον ἡμῖν ἱερμηνεύειν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν, ὡς εἶπες, τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι φωνήν, ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, ἀφ' οὗπερ ὁ ᾧ ἐλάμβανε λόγους, καθάπερ ἐξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς. οὐκ ἂν ἀρχὴ τῷ υἱῷ Πατὴρ. *S. Cyril. Alex. Thesaur. c. 32.* Cum dixisset, quem mittet Pater, addidit, in nomine meo: non tamen dixit, quem mittet Pater a me, quemadmodum dixit, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre; viz. ostendens quod totius divinitatis, vel, si melius dicitur, Deitatis, principium Pater est. *Aug. de Trin. 1. 4. c. 20.* Unum principium ad creaturam dicitur Deus, non duo vel tria principia. Ad se autem invicem in Trinitate, si gignens ad id quod gignitur principium est. Pater ad Filium principium est, quia gignit eum. *S. Aug. de Trin. 1. 5. c. 14.* Pater ergo principium Deitatis. *Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. 1.* In this sense the Greek fathers used ἀναρχος as proper to the Father, (in the same notion with ἀγέννητος, with relation to the principium productionis) and denied it to the Son: 'Ο δὲ υἱός, ἰὰν μὲν ὡς αἴτιος τὸν πατέρα λαμβάνῃ, οὐκ ἀναρχος, ἀρχὴ γὰρ υἱοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ὡς αἴτιος· ἰὰν δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ χρόνου νοῆς ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἀναρχος. *Naz. Orat. 29.* Εἰ τις ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀναρχὸν λέγει τὸν υἱόν ὡς δύο ἀναρχα, καὶ δύο ἀγέννητα λόγους, καὶ δύο ποιῶν θεοὺς ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Synod. Sirm. Conf. prima*, thus first translated into Latin; si quis in nascibilem et sine initio dicat Filium tanquam duo sine principio, et duo innascibilia, et duo innata dicens, duos faciet Deos, Anathema sit. *S. Hilar. de Synod.*

In which sense the Platonists did understand ἀγέννητος of God, "Ὡς τὰ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν τῇ λεγομένη ὕλῃ τὸ κομμοῖσθαι, εἴπωρ ἀγέννητος εἰν μὴ ἀπὸ χρόνου μήνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αἰτιῶν. καὶ δ' ὁ σημαίνουσιν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγέννητον λέγουσιν. *Hierocles. de provid.* And the Latins attributing the term principium to the Son, do it with the addition of *de* or *ex* principio, Pater principium non de principio, Filius principium de principio. *S. Aug. contra Maxim. 1. 3. c. 17.* Principium ex principio et unum est, et initio caret. *Faustus Rheg. Epist. 16.* Ex ore, inquit, altissimi prodivi, hec est enim nativitas perfecta sermonis, hoc est principium sine principio; hic est ortus habens initium in nativitate; in statu non habens. *Phœbad. contra Arian.* Sicut in oreaturis invenitur principium primum et principium secundum; ita in personis divinis invenitur principium non de principio, quod Pater est, et principium a principio quod est Filius. *Tho. Aquin. 1. q. 33. art. 4.* And to this all the schoolmen writing on his sums agree, as all upon the sentences. 1 Dist. 29.

† Αἰτία ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις, καὶ τὸ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης. *S. Athanas. et Dissert. Orthod. et Anom.* Ἀλλὰ τις ἔστι δύναμις ἀγενήτως καὶ ἀνάρχως ὑφαστάτω, ἥτις ἔστιν αἰτία τῆς ἀπάντων ὄντων αἰτίας· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα. *S. Basil. Epist. 43.* And upon that place, "this day have I begotten thee;" Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν, γενήσμενα, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἔχει ἀρχὴν τὸ εἶναι σημαίνει. *Id. contra Eunom. 1. 2.* Πῶς οὐδεμίαν διαφορὰν καταλείπει, οὐ δὲ τὴν ἐν αἰτίῳ πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύουσαν; *Id. 1. Πρὸς τὸ, ὅτι ἐκὼ ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, εἰδέναι χρὴ, ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ἐκπορεύσεως τῶν πατέρων ταῦτα λέγει. *Id. Epist. 64.* διαφορὰν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐν μὲν αἰτίῳ τῶν τριῶν ἰδιότησι, τῇ ἀναίτιῳ καὶ πατρικῇ, καὶ αἰτιατῇ υἱικῇ καὶ τῇ αἰτιατῇ καὶ ἐκπορευτῇ, ἐκπονησόμενα. *Damasce. 1. 4. c. 5.* Τὸν πατέρα τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας, καὶ περιβολῆς τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, τὴν πρῶτην αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν φασιν τῆς δυνάμεως εἶναι. *Zachur. Mytilen.* And although Thomas Aquinas, and Eugenius bishop of Rome in the definition of the council of Florence, have observed that the Greeks in this case do use the term of *causa*, but*

thor,* the foot,† the fountain,‡ and the head of the Son,§ or the whole Divinity.

For by these titles it appeareth clearly, First, That they made a considerable difference between the person of the

the Latins only *principium*: yet the very Latin fathers in the twenty-fifth session of the same council have these words *μὴν γινώσκοντες τὸν πατέρα αἰτία, καὶ ῥίζαν, καὶ πηγὴν τῆς Σωτηρίας*: and we have before cited Victorinus Afer, who says, Pater causa est ipsi Filio ut sit. So St. Hilary, Deum nasci, non est aliud quam in ea natura esse qua Deus est, quia nasci cum causam nativitatis ostendat, non disproficit tamen in genere auctoris existere. *De Trin.* l. 11. Ex Spiritu enim Spiritus nascentis licet de proprietate Spiritus, per quam et ipse Spiritus est, nascatur, non tamen alia ei præterquam perfectarum atque indemutabilium causarum ad id quod nascitur causa est, et ex causa, licet perfecta atque indemutabili nascentis, necesse est ex causa in causæ ipsius proprietate nascatur. *Id.* l. 12. Qui ex eo qui est natus est, intelligi non potest ex eo quod non fuit natus esse, quia ejus qui est ad id quod est causa est, non etiam id quod non est origo nascendi est. *Ibid.* Deus omnium quas sunt causa est. Quod autem rerum omnium causa est, etiam sapientiæ suæ causa est, nec unquam Deus sine sapientiæ suæ. Igitur sempiternæ suæ sapientiæ causa est sempiterna. *St. Aug.* l. 83. quest. 16. And as they called the Father the cause of the Son, so they accounted it the propriety of the Father to be without a cause; as appears out of Alexander the bishop of Alexandria's Epist. before produced.

* We have cited Phœbadius speaking so. before; to which may be added, Si quis igitur adhuc et de Apostolo requirit dominicum statum, id est, singularis substantiæ dualitatem quæ per naturam auctori suo jungitur: et paulo post; sed cum refertur ex ipso, certe ad Patrem, ut ad rerum omnium respicitur autorem. St. Hilary is known to speak frequently of the authority of the Father, as of the author of his Son, and several places have been already collected, especially by Pelavius, to which these may be added, besides what have been already produced. Ipso quod Pater dicitur, ejus quem genuit author ostenditur, l. 4. cum potius honor Filii dignitas sit paterna, et gloriosus autor sit ex quo is, qui tali gloria sit dignus, exstiterit. *Ibid.* Aliud est sine autore esse semper æternum, aliud quod Patri, id est, auctori, est cœternum. Ubi enim Pater autor, ibi et nativitas est. At vero

ubi autor æternus est, ibi et nativitas æterna est: quia sicut nativitas ab autore est, ita ab æterno autore æterna nativitas est. *Id.* l. 12. Quod vero ex æterno natum est, id si non æternum natum est, jam non erit et Pater autor æternus. Si quid igitur ei qui ab æterno Patre natus est ex æternitate defuerit, id ipsum auctori non est ambiguum defuisse. *Id.* Natum non post aliquid, sed ante omnia; ut nativitas tantum testetur autorem, non præposteram aliquid in se autore significet. *Ib.* Natus autem ita, ut nihil aliud quam te sibi significet autorem. *Ib.* Ipsius tamen autor est Pater generando sine initio. *Ruff. in Symb.* Si propterea Deum Patrem Deo Filio dicis autorem, quia ille genuit, genitus est iste, quia iste de illo est, non ille de isto; fateor et concedo. *S. Aug. contra Maxim.* l. 3. c. 14.

† Nec dubitaverim Filiam dicere et radicis fruticem, et fontis fluvium, et solis radium. *Tertul. adv. Praxeam.* c. 8. Nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur; sicut nec a Deo sermo. *Ib.* "Ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ῥίζαν ἔχων τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀνένδεον, ῥίζα καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος." *S. Basil. Homil.* 26. Dominus Pater, quia radix est Filii. *S. Ambros. in Luc.* l. 10. c. 1. ut et de Fide, l. 4. c. 5. St. Cyril of Alexandria speaking of the baptismal institution, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀνωγάτων ῥίζαν ἢ ἐπίκεινα τὸ σύμπαν οὐδὲν ἐπονομασίου τὸν πατέρα τὸν δὲ γὰρ τῆς ἀνωγάτων ῥίζαν ἐκκεφαλὴν καὶ γαρνημένον παραδέξιν τὸν υἱόν. *De S. Trin. Dial.* 2.

‡ "Ἀναρχος ὁ πατὴρ πηγὴ τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ποταμοῦ, τοῦ μουνογενεῖς ὁ πατὴρ." *Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* 11. In hac ergo natura filius est, et in hoc originis fonte subsistens processit ex sapiente sapientia, ex forti virtus, ex lumine splendor, *Vigil. Disp.* ὡς πνεῦμα θεοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς αἰτίον αὐτὸν ἔχον, ὡς πηγὴν ἑαυτοῦ, κἀκεῖθεν, πηγάζει. *Basil. Homil.* 28. Ἀγαπᾷ παρ' τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡ θεὰ γραφή, κλίμα, φρονί, ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ποταμὸς εἰρήνης, ἐκπορεύμενος διανοῖται ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας πηγῆς τῆς ζωῆς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς Σωτηρίας. *Act. Concil. Nic.* l. ii. c. 22. And St. Cyril of Alexandria, who often useth this expression, gives us the full signification of it in these words, upon St. John i. Ἀδικήσαι δὲ ὅλως οὐδὲν τὸ, ὡς ἐν πηγῇ, τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπαρῆκεν ἐπονομασίου μόνον γὰρ τὸ ἐξ οὗ τὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν ταῖς τοῖς θεομα σωμαίνε. Patrem quidem non genitum, non creatum, sed ingnitum profitemur; ipse enim a

Father, "of whom are all things," and the person of the Son, "by whom are all things." Secondly, That the difference consisteth properly in this, that as the branch is from the root, and river from the fountain, and by their origination from them receive that being which they have; whereas the root receiveth nothing from the branch, or fountain from the river: so the Son is from the Father, receiving his subsistence by generation from him; the Father is not from the Son, as being what he is from none.

Some indeed of the ancients may seem to have made yet a farther difference between the persons of the Father and the Son, laying upon that relation terms of greater opposition. As if, because the Son hath not his essence from himself, the Father* had; because he was not begotten of himself, the Father† had been so; because he is not the cause of himself, the Father‡ were. Whereas if we speak properly, God the Father hath § neither his being from another, nor from himself; nor from another, that were repugnant to his paternity; not from himself, that were a contradiction in itself. And therefore those expressions are not to be understood positively and affirmatively, but negatively|| and ex-

nullo originem ducit, ex quo et Filius nati-
vitalitatem, et Spiritus Sanctus processionem
accepit. Fons ergo ipse et origo est totius
divinitatis. *Concil. Tolet. can. 11.*
Quanto magis Dei vocem credendum est
et manere in æternum: et sensu ac vir-
tute comitari, quam de Deo Patre tan-
quam rivus de fonte traduxit? *Lactan. de
falsa Sap. l. 4. c. 8. et rursus, c. 29.* Cum
igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius Pa-
trem, una atriq; mens; unus spiritus,
una substantia est; sed ille quasi exuberans
fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus;
ille tanquam sol, hic tanquam radius a sole
porrectus.

§ Caput, quod est principium omnium,
Filius: caput autem, quod est principium
Christi Deus. *Concil. Sirm. accepted and
expounded as Orthodox by St. Hilar.*
Caput enim omnium Filius, sed caput
Filii Deus, *St. Hil. de Syn.* Cum ipse sit
omnium caput, ipsius tamen caput est
Pater. *Ruff. in Symb.* Tu capitis caput,
et primi tu fontis origo. *Hilar. ad Leonem.*
Οὐτε δύο εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, ἀλλὰ κεφαλὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁ
πατήρ, μὴ ἡ ἀρχή. *Cyrl. Hieros. Catech.*
11. Caput Filii Pater est, et caput Spi-
ritus Sancti Filius, quia de ipso accepit.
St. Aug. Quest. Vet. Test. 9. St. Chrysos-
tom. is so clearly of the opinion that 1
Cor. xi. is to be understood of Christ as

God, that from thence he proves him to
have the same essence with God: Εἰ γὰρ
κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὁμοούσιος δὲ ἡ κεφαλὴ
τῷ σώματι κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁ θεός, ὁμοού-
σιος ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρί. So likewise Theo-
doret upon the same place: Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ οὐ
πάντα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ
ἀνδρός: οὕτως ὁ υἱὸς ἀπὸ πάσης τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ'
ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ. So St. Cyril, κεφαλὴ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν
γενήνται γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρ.
Ad Regin. Ep. 1.

* Lactan. l. i. c. 8. S. Hilar. l. ii.
Zach. Mytilen.

† Lactan. ib. Synes. Hymn.

‡ S. Hieron. in c. 3. ad Eph.

§ *Ἀναρχος αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπερθεῖεν
αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ εἶναι. S. Greg.
Naz. ὁ ἀγέννητος οὐ γενήνται, οὐδ' ὑπ' ἑαυτοῦ,
οὐδ' ὑπ' ἑτέρου. St. Athan.* Si rursum quod
a semetipso sit accipias, nemo sibi ipsi et
munerator et manus est. *St. Hilar. de
Trin. l. 2.* Qui putant Deum ejus po-
tentiae esse ut seipsum ipse genuerit, eo
plus errant, quod non solum Deus ita non
est, sed neque corporalis neque spiritualis
creatura. Nulla enim omnino res est quæ
seipsam gignat ut sit. Et ideo non est
credendum, vel dicendum, quod Deus
genuit se. *St. Aug.*

|| This appeareth by those expositions

clusively, that he hath his essence from none, that he is not begotten of any, nor hath he any cause of his existence. So

which have been given of such words as seem to bear the affirmation; as αὐτογενής, αὐτοφύς, αὐτόσπος, αὐτογενής, &c. αὐτογενής, αὐτογενής, οὐκ ἐκ τινος γενόμενος. Hesych. And αὐτοδύκευτος, Θεός ἀγέννητος, αὐτογενής. Id. And after him Suidas; αὐτοδύκευτος, αὐτογενής, ὁ Θεός ὁ ἀγέννητος. And if αὐτογενής be not αὐτόθεν γεννητός, no more is αὐτόσπος to be taken for αὐτόθεν, or ἑξ ἑαυτοῦ Σπός. Eusebius in his Panegyric Oration gives this title to the Son, Οὐκ αὐτὸ καὶ θύλου Θεοῦ παῖδα γήσκειν καὶ αὐτὸθεν ἀποσπυκνῆσθαι. Hist. l. x. c. 4. And in his Evangelical Demonstration calls him, αὐτόσπον, καὶ αὐτοδύκευ, καὶ αὐτοσπορίαν, καὶ ἴτι δι' αὐτόκαλον καὶ αὐτογάδον, l. iv. c. 2. and in the thirteenth chapter of the same book with relation to the former words, τῷ Θεῷ λόγος αὐτοζωὴ συγχάσκει, καὶ αὐτοφῶς ποιεῖν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παρατελείεται. Theodoret terms him, αὐτοδύναμον καὶ αὐτοζωὴν καὶ αὐτοσπορίαν. contra Anathem. 4. Cyrilli. St. Basil. αὐτοζωὴν, in Psal. xlviii. et de Spiritu Sancto, c. 8. and αὐτοδικαιοσύνην. Ep. 141. St. Chrysost. αὐτοβασιλείαν, αὐτομακαρίτητα. St. Athanasius gives him them, and many more to the same purpose. And before all these Origen; "Ὁν μὴ νομίζομεν καὶ πεπρωμένον ἀρχὴν εἶναι Θεόν, καὶ υἱὸν Θεοῦ, αὐτός ὁ αὐτολόγος ἱστί, καὶ ἡ αὐτοσπορία, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια. And again, Τίς μᾶλλον τῆς Ἰησοῦ ψυχῆς, ἢ καὶ παρακλησίως κεκλήθηται τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ αὐτολόγῳ, καὶ αὐτοσπορίᾳ καὶ αὐτοαληθείᾳ καὶ αὐτοδικαιοσύνῃ, l. vi. Εἰκὼν μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ἔστιν ὁ αὐτολόγος, καὶ ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια, ἴτι διὰ καὶ ἡ αὐτοσπορία. Id. And certainly in the same sense that αὐτός is joined with one attribute, it may be joined with any other, and with the Godhead: because all the attributes of God are really the same, not only with themselves, but with the essence. But in what sense it ought to be understood, when thus used by the fathers, it will be necessary to inquire, lest it be so attributed to the Son, as it prove derogatory to the Father. St. Basil, I confess, may seem to speak, as if the Son were therefore αὐτοζωὴ, because he hath life of himself, not from the Father, (and consequently he may be termed αὐτόθεος, as God of himself, not from the Father) for he denieth those words, "I live by the Father," to be spoken of Christ according to his Divine nature, and that only for this reason, that if it were so understood he could not be called αὐτοζωὴ. Εἰ δὲ ἀπὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς ζῇ, δι' ἑτέρον, καὶ οὐ δι'

ἑαυτοῦ ζῇ, ὁ δὲ δι' ἑτέρον ζῇ αὐτοζωὴ εἶναι οὐ δύναται from whence he concludeth, εἰς τὴν ἑνανθρώπησην οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Διότητα, τὸ ἀειμένον καὶ δαί. contra Eunom. l. 4. But because the authority of that book is questioned, I shall produce the same author upon the same scripture, speaking to the same purpose, in his 141st epistle, which is unquestionably genuine: Ἐταῦτα διὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αὐτὴν ἀποκρίσιν, ὡς οἶμαι, ζῇ ὁμομάζει· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δι' ἑτέρον ζῇ αὐτοζωὴ εἶναι οὐ δύναται. To which testimonies I answer, first, that those words of his, ὡς οἶμαι, (as I think) shew that he doth not absolutely deny these words of Christ to be understood of his Divinity, of which the rest of the fathers quoted before did understand it; and not only they but St. Basil himself, in his book de Spiritu Sancto, c. 8. hath delivered a clear resolution of this point according to that interpretation, wholly consonant to his doctrine of the Trinity in other parts of his works: "Ὅμοιός μὲν τοι ἴσα μὲν ποτε ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐνεργουμένων περισσασθῶμεν, εἰς τὸ φαντασθῆναι ἀναρχὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα, τί φησιν ἡ αὐτοζωὴ; Ἐγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις; οὐ δύναται ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν, καὶ ὁ αὐτοαληθὲς σοφία; Ἐταλὸν ἔλαβον τί εἶπον καὶ τί λαλῶ; Christ therefore as αὐτοζωὴ spake those words, "I live by the Father," and by them shewed his origination from him, from whom he received his life, power and wisdom, as receiving his Essence, which is the same with them: wherefore those former passages are to be looked upon, as if αὐτός in composition did not deny origination, but participation, or receiving by way of affection. And that he understood it so, appears out of the places themselves: for in the first, after ὁ δι' ἑτέρον ζῇ αὐτοζωὴ εἶναι οὐ δύναται, immediately followeth, οὐ δὲ γὰρ ὁ κατὰ χάριν ἔργον αὐτοάγει· and in the second, after πᾶν τὸ δι' ἑτέρον ζῇ αὐτοζωὴ εἶναι οὐ δύναται, followeth likewise, ὡς οὐ δὲ τὸ ἰφ' ἑτέρου θεμελιωθὲν αὐτοθεμελιώτης εἶναι. The meaning then of St. Basil must be this, that he which receiveth life from another merely as a grace or favour, as the saints receive their sanctity, cannot properly be termed αὐτοζωὴ, no more than they αὐτοάγει· or if he receive it by derivation or participation, as water receiveth heat from fire, he deserveth the same name no more than water heated to be called αὐτοθεμελιώτης. And this is fully consonant to the expressions of the rest of the ancients: as par-

that the proper notion of the Father in whom we believe is this, that he is a person subsisting eternally in the one infinite essence of the Godhead; which essence or subsistence he hath received from no other person, but hath communicated the same essence, in which himself subsisteth by generation to another Person, who by that generation is the Son.

Howsoever, it is most reasonable to assert that there is but one Person who is from none; and the very generation of the Son and procession of the Holy Ghost undeniably prove, that neither of those two can be that Person. For whosoever is generated is from him which is the genitor, and whosoever proceedeth is from him from whom he proceedeth, whatsoever the nature of the generation or procession be. It followeth therefore that this person is the *Father*, which name speaks nothing of dependence, nor supposeth any kind of priority in another.

From hence it is observed that the name of *God*, taken absolutely,* is often in the Scriptures spoken of the Father:

ticularly Athanasius, οὐ κατὰ μετοχὴν ταῦτα ἄν, οὐδὲ ἔξωθεν, ἐπιγινωσκόμενον τούτου αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ μετιχοῦντας, καὶ σοφικομένους δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δυνατοὺς καὶ λογικοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ γινωσκόμενους· ἀλλ' αὐτοσοφία, αὐτολόγος, αὐτοδύναμις ἰδία τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστίν, αὐτοφῶς, αὐτοαλήθεια, αὐτοδικαιοσύνη, αὐτοαρεστή· in fine Prolept. And to the same purpose, "Ὅτι οὐ μεθεκτὴν ἔχει τὴν θεότητα, ἀλλ' αὐτοπαρὰ καὶ αὐτῆριζα πάντων ἐστὶ τὸν ἀγαθόν, αὐτοφῶς καὶ αὐτοφῶς, καὶ αὐτοαλήθεια, in the MS. Catena in the King of France's Library, *Petuv. de Trin.* l. v. c. 11. All therefore which these compositions signify, is either a negation of a derivative participation, or an affirmation of a reality and identity of substance, as yet farther appears by St. Epiphanius, αὐτοουσία ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐχ ἑτερουσία. and Origen himself upon St. John, ἡ αὐτοδικαιοσύνη ἡ οὐσιώδης Χριστὸς ἐστίν, as also ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια ἡ οὐσιώδης, καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ εἶπεν, *πατερὶς τὸς ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς ψυχαῖς ἀληθείας*. To conclude, there is a catholic sense in which the Son is termed αὐτόθεος, αὐτοσοφία, &c. by the ancient fathers; and another sense there is in which these terms are so proper and peculiar to the Father, that they are denied to the Son. Indeed αὐτόθεος, in the highest sense, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ θεός, positively taken, belongeth neither to the Son nor to the Father, as implying a manifest contradiction; because nothing can have its being actually

from itself, as communicated to itself, and that by itself: but in a negative way of interpretation, by which that is said to be of itself, which is and yet is not of or from another, αὐτόθεος belongs properly to the Father, neither generated by, nor proceeding from another; and in that sense it is denied to the Son, because he is generated by the Father, as *ἐκ θεοῦ θεός, ἐκ σοφῆς σοφία, ἐκ λογικοῦ λόγος, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς υἱός*, saith St. Athanasius *cont. Ar.* Or. v. from whence he thus proceeds, *ἐκτός ἐστι μὴ ἂν τις εἰποι αὐτοσοφίαν εἶναι καὶ αὐτολόγον τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦτο εἶναι αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ υἱός*. And again, *εἰ δὲ αὐτοσοφία ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτου ἀποπονείσεται παρὰ σαββαλλίου*. Lastly, in another sense in which αὐτός in composition is taken not in *obliqua*, but in *recto* αὐτόθεος, that is, αὐτός ὁ θεός, *God himself*, and αὐτοφῶς, αὐτὴ ἡ ζῶν, *life itself*: no all these terms are attributed to the Son as truly, really and essentially, as to the Father. And that the fathers took it so appears, because they did sometimes resolve the composition: as when Eusebius calleth Christ αὐτόθεον, in the Panegyric before cited, presently after he speaketh thus; *τί γὰρ καὶ ἑμμελλε τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ πανηγυμῆτος καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἡγοῦσασθαι τῷ πνεύματι*; where αὐτοῦ θεοῦ is the same with αὐτόθεο.

*Ὅθεν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν ἡ ἀγία γράφη, ὅταν εἶπεν, ὁ θεός, οὕτως ἀπολύτως καὶ

as when we read of "God sending his own Son; of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God;" (2 Cor. xiii. 14.) and generally wheresoever Christ is called the Son of God, or the Word of God, the name of God is to be taken particularly for the Father, because he is no Son but of the Father. From hence he is styled "one God," (1 Cor. viii. 6. Eph. iv. 6.) "the true God," (1 Thess. i. 9.) "the only true God," (John xvii. 3.) "the God* and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." (2 Cor. i. 3. Eph. i. 3.)

Which, as it is most true, and so fit to be believed, is also a most necessary truth, and therefore to be acknowledged, for the avoiding multiplication† and plurality of gods. For if there were more than one which were from none, it could not be denied but there were more gods than one. Wherefore this origination‡ in the Divine paternity hath anciently

ἀπεροδιόριστος, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πάντας ὁν ἀρθρος, καὶ χωρὶς ἰδιώματος ὑποστατικοῦ, τὸν πατέρα ἔχει. Theod. Abucara Opusc. 42.

* Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus. Id enim quod sit, tuus, ad nativitatem refertur; cæterum non perimit naturam. Et idcirco Deus ejus est, qui ex Deo natus in Deum est. Non tamen per id quod Pater Deus est, non et Filius Deus est. Unxit enim te Deus, Deus tuus; designata videlicet et authoris sui et ex eo geniti significatione, uno eodemque dicto utrumque illum in naturæ ejusdem et dignitatis nuncupatione constituit. St. Hilar. l. 4. Deo enim ex quo omnia sunt Deus nullus est, qui sine initio æternus est. Filio autem Deus Pater est, ex eo enim Deus natus est. Id. paulo est. Cum autem ex Deo Deus est, per id Deus Pater Deo Filio et nativitatis ejus Deus est, et naturæ Pater, quia Dei nativitas et ex Deo est, et in eo generis est natura qua Deus est. Id. l. xi. So St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. xi. Θεὸς ὁ γνήσιος, Θεὸς ὁ γεννηθείς, Θεὸς μὲν τῶν πάντων. Θεὸν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πατέρα ἐκτεταγμένος.

† Μη μοι εἰσπντε, δύο Θεοὺς κηρύσσει, πολυθεΐαν καταγγέλλει, οὐ δύο Θεοί, οὐ δὲ γὰρ δύο πατέρες; ὁ μὲν ἀρχὴς εἰσάγων δύο, δύο κηρύττει Θεούς. St. Basil. Homil. 26. In duobus ingenuis diversa divinitas invenitur, in uno autem genito ex uno ingenito naturalis unitas demonstratur. Fulgen. Resp. contra Arian. ad Obj. 5. Siquis innascibilem et sine initio dicat Filium, tanquam duo sine principio, et duo innascibilia, et duo innata dicens, duos faciat Deos, Anathema sit. Concil. Sirm. Deus utique procedens ex Deo secundam personam efficiens, sed non eripiens illud

Patri quod unus est Deus. Si enim natus non fuisset, innatus comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque ostensa, duos faceret innatos, et ideo duos faceret Deos. Si non genitus esset collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset, æquales inventi duos Deos merito reddidissent non geniti; atque ideo duos Deos reddidisset Christus, si sine origine esset ut Pater inventus; et ipse principium omnium ut Pater, deo faciens principia, duos ostendisset nobis consequenter et Deos, &c. Novatian. de Trin. c. 31.

‡ Ὡς περὶ δὲ μία ἀρχὴ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο εἰς Θεός. St. Athan. Orat. 5. Τηροῦτο μὲν, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, εἰς μὲν Θεός, εἰς ἑν ἄλιον καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦματος ἀναφερομένων. St. Gregor. Naz. Orat. 29. Ὅπου γὰρ μία μὲν ἡ ἀρχὴ, ἐν δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, μία δὲ ἡ εἰκών, ὁ τῆς ἐνότητος λόγος οὐ διαφθείρεται. St. Basil. Homil. 26. Patri suo originem suam debens, discordiam divinitatis de numero duorum Deorum facere non potuit, qui ex illo qui est unus Deus originem nascendo contraxit. Novatian. c. 31. Confitemur non Deos duos sed Deum unum, neque per id non et Deum Dei Filium, est enim ex Deo Deus; non innascibiles duos, quia autoritate innascibilitatis Deus unus est. St. Hilar. de Synod. whose assertion is, Unum Deum esse ex quo omnia, unam virtutem innascibilem, et unam hanc esse sine initio potestatem: which words belong unto the Father, and then it followeth of the Son; Non enim Patri adimitur quod Deus unus est, quia et Filius Deus est. Est enim Deus ex Deo, unus ex uno. Ob id unus Deus, quia ex se Deus. Contra vero non minus per id Filius Deus, quia Pater

been looked upon as the assertion of the unity: and therefore the Son and Holy Ghost have been believed to be but one God with the Father, because both from the Father, who is one, and so the union* of them.

Secondly, It is necessary thus to believe in the *Father*, because our salvation is propounded to us by an access unto the Father. We are all gone away and fallen from God, and we must be brought to him again. There is no other notion under which we can be brought to God as to be saved, but the notion of the Father; and there is no other person can bring us to the Father, but the Son of that Father: for, as the apostle teacheth us, "through him we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father." (Ephes. ii. 18.)

Having thus described the true nature and notion of the Divine paternity, in all the several degrees and eminences belonging to it, I may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand what it is he speaks, when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in God the Father*: by which I conceive him to express thus much:

As I am assured that there is an infinite and independent Being, which we call a God, and that it is impossible there should be more infinities than one; so I assure myself that this one God is the *Father* of all things, especially of all men and angels, so far as the mere act of creation may be styled generation; that he is farther yet, and in a more peculiar manner, the *Father* of all those whom he regenerateth by his Spirit, whom he adopteth in his Son, as heirs and coheirs with him, whom he crowneth with the reward of an eternal inheritance in the heavens. But beyond and far above all this, besides his general offspring and peculiar people, "to whom he hath given power to become the sons of God;" I believe him the Father in a more eminent and transcendent manner, of one singular and proper Son, his own, his beloved, his only-begotten Son: whom he hath not only begotten of the blessed Virgin, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of his power; not only sent with special authority as the King of Israel; not

Deus unus sit. Est enim unigenitus Filius Dei non innascibilis, ut Patri adimat quod Deus unus sit. *De Trin.* l. iv.

* Οὗσις διὰ τοῖς τρισὶ μία θεὸς ἑνωσις διὰ ὁ πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἀπὸς ὃν ἀνάγεται τὰ ἑξῆς. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 32. Unto which words

those of Theod. Abucara have relation, Θεὸς δι' ἐξαιρέτως λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἑνωσις, ἥτοι ἀνάπτουσι καὶ ἀναμφαλαίωσι, τῆς τριάδος ὁ πατὴρ ἵσταται, ὡς εἶπεν, ὁ Θεολόγος. *Opus.* 42.

only raised from the dead, and made heir of all things in his house; but antecedently to all this, hath begotten him by way of eternal generation in the same Divinity and majesty with himself: by which paternity, coeval to the Deity, I acknowledge him always Father, as much as always God. And in this relation, I profess that eminency and priority, that as he is the original Cause of all things as created by him, so is he the fountain of the Son begotten of him, and of the Holy Ghost proceeding from him.

I believe in God the Father Almighty.

After the relation of God's paternity, immediately followeth the glorious attributes of his omnipotency:* that as those in heaven in their devotions, so we on earth in our confessions might acknowledge that "Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come;" (Rev. iv. 8.) that in our solemn meetings of the church of God, with the joint expression and concurring language of the congregation, we might some way imitate that "voice of a great multitude, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Allelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."†

This notion of *Almighty* in the CREED, must certainly be interpreted according to the sense which the original word beareth in the New Testament; and that cannot be better understood than by the Greek writers or interpreters of the Old, especially when the notion itself belongs unto the gospel and the law indifferently. Now the word which we translate *Almighty*,‡ the most ancient Greek interpreters used sometimes for the title of *God*, the *Lord of Hosts*,

* For the oldest and shortest Creed had always this attribute expressed in it. Inasmuch that Πατοκράτωρ was ordinarily by the ancients taken for the Father, as Origen. l. vii. adv. Celsam. Ἐχόν δι' αὐτὸν — ἐκτίσθαι αὐταῖς λέξει τὰς προφητείας εἰς τὸ αἰὲς Θεὸς Πατοκράτωρ ἐπηγγέλλετο εἶναι ὁ λόγος, εἰς τὸ αἰὲς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ αἰὲς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον λόγος εἶναι ἐπιστάμετο. And according to this general confession did Polycarpus begin his prayer at his martyrdom: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πατοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ. Eccl. Smyrn. Epist.

† Rev. xix. 6. Οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἀληθῆς, τῷ πατοκράτορα πατρία καλεῖν. Constit.

Apost. l. i. Proœm.

‡ Πατοκράτωρ, translated by Tertul. and St. Aug. *Omnitenens*, (as Tertullian translates κοσμοκράτορας *munditentes*.) by Prudentius, *Omnipollens*, by all, *Omnipotens*, (as St. Hilary translated κοσμοκράτορας *mundipotentis*.) and as I conceive, it is translated *Capax universorum*, by the Latin interpreter of Hermas. *Primum omnium credo quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit, et consummavit, et ex nihilo fecit. Ipse capax universorum, solus immensus est.* l. iii. Mand. 1. Which by the interpreter of Irenæus is thus translated, *Omnium capax, et qui a nemine capiatur*, l. iv. c. 37.

sometimes for his name *Shaddai*, as generally in the book of Job: by the first, they seem to signify the rule and dominion which God hath over all; by the second, the strength, force, or power by which he is able to perform all things. "The heavens and the earth were finished, (saith Moses) and all the host of them:" (Gen. ii. 1.) and he which begun them, he which finished them, is the Ruler and commander of them. Upon the right of creation doth he justly challenge this dominion. "I have made the earth, and created man upon it; I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded." (Isa. xlv. 12.) And on this dominion or command doth he raise the title of "the Lord of Hosts:"* which, though preserved in the † original language both by St. Paul and St. James, yet by St. John is turned into that word which we translate *Almighty*. Wherefore from the use of the sacred writers, from the ‡ notation of the word in Greek, and from the testimony of the ancient fathers, § we

* Κύριος σαβαωθ.

† Εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαωθ ἔγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα. Rom. ix. 29. the words of Isai. i. 9. Καὶ αἱ βεαὶ τῶν θυριάντων εἰς τὰ ὄρα Κυρίου σαβαωθ ἐπισπλήθασιν. Jam. v. 4. which are the words of St. James in relation to Deut. xxiv. 15. "Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Rev. iv. 8. which are before in Isaiah. "Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβαωθ, Isai. vi. 3. Τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἔρουμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν σαβαωθ φωνῆς, πολλοὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν παραλαμβανόμενοι· ὅτι εἰ μεταλαμβάνομεν τὸ ὄνομα εἰς τὸ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, ἡ Κύριος στρατιῶν, ἡ παντοκράτωρ, (διαφέρει γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξεδίξαντο οἱ ἱμνωῦντες αὐτὸ) οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν. *Origen. contra Cels.* l. v.

‡ That παντοκράτωρ should have the signification of government in it, according to the composition in the Greek language, no man can doubt, who but only considers those vulgar terms of their politics, δημοκρατία, and ἀριστοκρατία, from whence it appears that μονοκρατία might as well have been used as μοναρχία: and in that sense αυτοκράτωρ is the proper title given by the Greeks to the Roman emperor, as not only the latter historians, but even the coins of Julius Cæsar witness. *Hesych.* Αυτοκράτωρ, αὐτεξούσιος, κοσμοκράτωρ, because the Roman emperor was ruler of the known world. So the devils or princes of the air are termed by St. Paul, κοσμοκράτορες, Eph. vi. 12. which is all one with ἀρχόντες τοῦ κόσμου,

as will appear, John xii. 31. xiv. 30.

xvi. 1. As therefore κράτος signifieth of itself rule and authority, *Hesych.* Κράτος, βασιλεία, ἐξουσία· Κράτει, ἀρχῇ, ἐξουσίᾳ, to which sense Eustathius hath observed Homer led the following writers by those words of his, — σὺν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἄξειν, *Iliad* M. τὸ μὲν κράτος συλλαμβάνεται τι τοῖς ὑστερον τὴν βασιλείαν κράτος λέγουσι· whence *Æschylus* calls Agamemnon and Menelaus διδρον κράτος Ἀχαιῶν, and *Sophocles* after him, δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεΐδας· and as κρατεῖν to rule or govern, (Κρατεῖ, κυριεύει, ἀρχεῖ) from whence Κρατὺς, ἀρχαν, ἐξουσιάζων· So also in composition, παντοκράτωρ, the ruler of all. Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Θεὸς πάντων κρατῶν, *Hesych.* Παντοκρατορία, πανταρχία. *Suid.*

§ Αἰρετικοὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν ὅτι παντοκράτορα δύνανται παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πάντων κρατῶν, ὁ πάντων ἐξουσιάζων, οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸν μὲν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς δεσπότην, τὸν δὲ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τέλειον λέγουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, σώματος δὲ ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ; καὶ ὁ δεσπότης σαμάνων μὴ ἐξουσιάζων δὲ πνευμάτων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ; *St. Cyril. Catech.* 8. *Theodorus* apud *Cl. Alex.* p. 804. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἰσχυρότατον τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ πάντων κρατῶν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς παντοδύναμος καὶ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ δυνάμενος κρατεῖναι, ποιῆσαι, τρέφειν, αἰεῖν, σώζειν, σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων. *Unus est Dominus Jesus Christus per quem Deus Pater dominatum omnium tenet; unde et sequens sermo Omnipote-*

may well ascribe unto God the Father, in the explication of this article, the dominion over all, and the rule and government of all.

This authority or power properly potestative is attributed unto God in the sacred Scriptures;* from whence those names or titles,† which most aptly and fully express dominion, are frequently given unto him; and the rule, empire, or government of the world is acknowledged to be wholly in him, as necessarily following that natural and eternal right of dominion.

What the nature of this authoritative power is, we shall the more clearly understand, if we first divide it into three degrees or branches of it: the first whereof we may conceive, a right of making and framing any thing which he willeth, in any manner as it pleaseth him, according to the absolute freedom of his own will; the second, a right of having and possessing all things so made and framed by him, as his own, properly belonging to him, as to the Lord and Master of them, by virtue of direct dominion; the third, a right of using and disposing all things, so in his possession, according to his own pleasure. The first of these we mention only for the necessity of it, and the dependence of the other two upon it. God's actual dominion being no otherwise necessary, than upon supposition of a precedent act of creation; because nothing, before it hath a being, can belong to any one, neither can any propriety be imagined in that which hath no entity.

But the second branch or absolute dominion of this *Allmighty*, is farther to be considered in the independency and infinity of it. First, it is independent in a double respect, in reference both to the original, and the use thereof. For God hath received no authority from any, because he hath all power originally in himself, and hath produced all things by the act of his own will, without any commander, counsellor, or coadjutor. Neither doth the use or exercise of this dominion depend upon any one, so as to receive any direction or regulation, or to render any account of the administration of it; as being illimited, absolute, and su-

tentem pronunciat Dominum. Omnipotens autem ab eo dicitur, quod omnium teneat potentatum. *Ruffin. in Syrab.* † As יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ κύριος, δεσπότης, ἐν μὲν τῷ κυρίως καὶ πρῶτως ὃν, οὗ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ πάντα, καὶ ὃς πάντων δεσπόζει· τὰ γὰρ πάντα.

* Εξουσία. Luke xii. 5. Acts i. 7. δούλά σα. *Phot. Ep. 162.*
Jude xxv. Rev. v. 13.

preme, and so the fountain from whence all dominion in any other is derived. Wherefore he being the " God of gods, *is also the* Lord of Lords, and King of kings—the only Potentate ;"* because he alone hath all the power of himself, and whosoever else hath any, hath it from him, either by donation or permission.

The infinity of God's dominion, if we respect the object, appears in the amplitude or extension; if we look upon the manner, in the plenitude or perfection; if we consider the time, in the eternity of duration. The amplitude of the object is sufficiently evidenced by those appellations which the Holy Writ ascribeth unto the Almighty, calling him the "Lord of heaven, the Lord of the whole earth, the Lord of heaven and earth;"† under which two are comprehended all things both in heaven and earth. This Moses taught the distrusting Israelites in the Wilderness: "Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also with all that is therein." (Deut. x. 14.) With these words *David glorifieth* God: "the heavens are thine, the earth also is thine;" so acknowledging his dominion; "as for the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them;" (Psal. lxxxix. 11.) so expressing the foundation or ground of that dominion. And yet more fully, at the dedication of the offerings for the building of the temple, to shew that what they gave was of his own, he saith, "thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all."‡ If then we look upon the object of God's dominion, it is of that amplitude and extension, that it includeth and comprehendeth all things; so that nothing can be imagined which is not his, belonging to him as the true owner and proprietor, and subject wholly to his will as the sole governor and disposer: in respect of which universal power we must confess him to be *Almighty*.

If we consider the manner and nature of this power, the

* Deut. x. 17. Psalm cxxxvi. 3. 1 Tim. xvii. 5. Mic. iv. 13. Zac. iv. 14. vi. vi. 15. *μὴνός, δυνάστης.* Sap. Syr. 46. 6. 5. Matt. xi. 25. Acts xvii. 24.

24. ὁ τῶν πατέρων κύριος, καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας
 25. δυνάστης. Ἡ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ Ἅγιος Π. 8.

† Dan. v. 23. Josh. iii. 11, 13. Psal.

‡ 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12. מִזְשֵׁל בָּבֶל

כִּי מִמֶּד הַכֹּל πάντες γὰρ πάντα τοῖς
 θεοῖς ὕποχα, καὶ πάντε πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ
 κρατοῦσι. Zenoph. de exped. Cyr. l. ii.

plenitude thereof or perfection will appear: for as in regard of the extension, he hath power over all things; so in respect of the intention, he hath all power over every thing, as being absolute and supreme. This God challenged to himself, when he catechized the prophet Jeremy in a potter's house, saying, "O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel. (Jer. xviii. 16.) That is, God hath as absolute power and dominion over every person, over every nation and kingdom on the earth, as the potter hath over the pot he maketh, or the clay he mouldeth. Thus are we wholly at the disposal of his will, and our present and future condition framed and ordered by his free, but wise and just, decrees. "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?" (Rom. ix. 21.) And can that earth-artificer have a freer power over his brother potsherd, (both being made of the same metal) than God hath over him, who by the strange fecundity of his omnipotent power, first made the clay out of nothing, and then him out of that?

The duration of God's dominion must likewise necessarily be eternal, if any thing which is be immortal. For, being every thing is therefore his, because it received its being from him, and the continuation of the creature is as much from him as the first production; it followeth that so long as it is continued it must be his, and consequently, being some of his creatures are immortal, his dominion must be eternal. Wherefore St. Paul expressly calleth God "the King eternal,"* with reference to that of David, "thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.† And Moses in his Song hath told us, "the Lord shall reign for ever and ever:‡" which phrase "for ever and ever" in the original signifieth thus much, that there is no time to come assignable or imaginable, but after and beyond that God shall reign.

The third branch of God's authoritative or potestate power consisteth in the use of all things in his possession, by vir-

* 1 Tim. i. 17. τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων.

in' aióna kal éti. St. Hier. in seculum et ultra. So Aquila, Theod and the fifth edit. in Psal. xxi. 4. So the LXX again, Dan. xii. 7. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ ἔτι; and Mich. iv. 5. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι;.

† Psal. cxlv. 13. מלכות כל-עולם LXX. βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων..

‡ Exod. xv. 18. לעולם ועד LXX.

tue of his absolute dominion. For it is the general dictate of reason, that the use, benefit and utility of any thing, redoundeth unto him whose it is, and to whom as to the proprietor it belongeth. It is true indeed, that God, who is all-sufficient and infinitely happy in and of himself, so that no accession ever could or can be made to his original felicity, cannot receive any real benefit and utility from the creature. "Thou art my Lord, (saith David) my goodness extendeth not to thee."* And therefore our only and absolute Lord, because his goodness extendeth unto us, and not ours to him, because his dominion is for our benefit, not for his own: for us who want, and therefore may receive: not for himself who cannot receive, because he wanteth nothing, whose honour standeth not in his own, but in our receiving.†

But though the universal Cause made all things for the benefit of some creatures framed by him, yet hath he made them ultimately for himself; and God is as universally the final as the efficient cause of his operations. The apostle hath taught us, that not only "of him," (Rom. xi. 36. Heb. ii. 11.) and "by him," as the first author, but also "to him," (1 Cor. viii. 6.) and "for him," as the ultimate end, "are all things." And it is one of the proverbial sentences of Solomon. "The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea even the wicked for the day of evil." (Prov. xvi. 4.) (For though he cannot receive any real benefit or utility from the creature, yet he can and doth in a manner receive that which hath some similitude or affinity with it. Thus God "rejoiceth," (Psalm. civ. 31.) at the effects of his wisdom, power and goodness, and taketh delight in the works of his hands. Thus doth he order and dispose of all things unto his own glory, which redoundeth from the demonstration of his attributes.

* Psalm. xvi. 2. *Ille nostra servitute non indiget, nos vero dominatione illius indigemus, ut operetur et custodiat nos: et ideo verus et solus est Dominus, qui non illi ad suam sed ad nostram utilitatem salutemque servimus. Nam si nobis indigeret eo ipso non verus Dominus esset, cum per nos ejus adjuvaretur necessitas, sub qua et ipse serviret. St. Aug. de Gen. ad lit. l. viii. c. 11. Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu, quare? quoniam bonorum non eges. Ille non eget nostri, nos egemus ipsius; ideo verus Dominus. Nam tu non valde verus Dominus servi tui; ambo homines, ambo egentes Deo. Si vero putas*

egere tui servum tuum, ut des panem. eges et tu servi tui, ut adjuvet labores tuos. Uterque vestrum altero vestrum indiget: itaque nullus vestrum vere dominus, et nullus vestrum vere servus. Audi verum Dominum, cujus verus esservus, Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu: quare tui dominus? quoniam bonorum meorum non eges. Id. ad Psalm. lxi.

† Τιμὴν παύεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσηγορίαν ἀγαθὴν ὑποδοχὴν. Hieroc. in Aurea Car. And again, Ὅστις τιμᾶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐκ προσδοκίᾳ, οὗτος ἀλλοθεν εὐόμενος ἑαυτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι κρείττονα.

An explicit belief of this authoritative power and absolute dominion of the *Almighty* is necessary, First, for the breeding in us an awful reverence of his majesty, and entire subjection to his will. For to the highest excellency the greatest honour, to the supreme* authority the most exact obedience is no more than duty. If God be our absolute Lord, we his servants and vassals, then is there a right in him to require of us whatsoever we can perform, and, an obligation† upon us to perform whatsoever he commandeth. Whosoever doth otherwise, while he confesseth, denieth him; while he acknowledgeth him with his tongue, he sets his hand against him. "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, (saith our Saviour) and do not the things which I say? (Luke vi. 46.)

Secondly, This belief is also necessary to breed in us equanimity and patience in our sufferings, to prevent all murmuring, repining, and objecting against the actions or determinations of God, as knowing that he, who is absolute Lord, cannot abuse his power; he, whose will is a law to us, cannot do any thing unwisely or unjustly. "Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth: shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou?" (Isai. xlv. 9.) But let the man after God's own heart rather teach us humble and religious silence. "I was dumb, (saith he) and opened not my mouth, because thou didst it." (Psal. xxxix. 9.) When Shimei cast stones at him, and cursed him, let us learn to speak as he then spake: "The Lord hath said unto him, Curse David: who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so? (2 Sam. xvi. 10.)

Thirdly, the belief of God's absolute dominion is yet farther necessary to make us truly and sufficiently sensible of the benefits we receive from him, so as by a right value and estimation of them to understand how far we stand obliged to him. No man can duly prize the blessings of heaven, but he which acknowledgeth they might justly have been denied him; nor can any be sufficiently thankful for them, except it be confessed that he ought him nothing who bestowed them.

But as the original word for *Almighty* is not put only for

* Ἡμεῖς δὲ μέγας Διὸς παῖδάμεθα καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου παντὸς κεντῆς ἡ βούλη, "Ὅς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει. Hom. Il. μ'.

† Ἐμὲ πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ καταφυγὴ καὶ νόμος

apud Menand.

the *Lord of Hosts*, but often also for the *Lord Shaddai*; so we must not restrain the signification to the power authoritative, but extend it also to that power which is properly operative and executive. In the title of the *Lord of Sabaoth* we understand the rule and dominion of God, by which he hath a right of governing all: in the name *Shaddai* we apprehend an infinite force and strength, by which he is able to work and perform all things. For whether we take this word in composition,* as signifying the *All-sufficient*; whosoever is able to suppeditate all things to the sufficing all, must have an infinite power: or whether we deduce it from the root denoting *vastation* or *destruction*;† whosoever can destroy the being of all things, and reduce them unto nothing, must have the same power which originally produced all things out of nothing, and that is infinite. Howsoever, the first notion of *Almighty* necessarily inferreth the second, and the infinity of God's dominion speaketh him infinitely powerful in operation.‡ Indeed in earthly dominions, the strength of the governor is not in himself, but in those whom he governeth: and he is a powerful prince whose subjects are numerous. But the King of kings hath in himself all power of execution, as well as right of dominion. Were all the force and strength of a nation in the person of the king, as the authority is, obedience would not be arbitrary, nor could rebellion be successful: whereas experience teacheth us that the most puissant prince is compelled actually to submit, when the stronger part of his own people hath taken the boldness to put a force upon him. But we must not imagine that the Governor of the world ruleth only over them, which are willing to obey, or that any of his creatures may dispute his commands with safety, or cast off his yoke with impunity. And if his dominion be uncontrollable, it is because his power is irresistible. For man is

* So R. Solomon will have it compounded of ש the pronoun et יהי ששדי באלהותי לכל בריה: because in God there is sufficiency, that is, sufficient power over every creature: from whence the LXX. Ruth. i. 20, 21. Job xxi. 15. et xxxi. 2. translate it *εξαρθε*, as Sym. Job xxii. 3. and Aquila with him, Ezek. i. 24.

† שדד vastavit, destruxit, perdidit; from whence שדד the destroyer; and because utter destruction requireth power

equivalent to production, the *Omnipotent*, from whence the LXX. Job viii. 3. translate it *ὁ πάντα ποιῶν*. And this etymology rather than the former, seemed to be confirmed by the prophet, Isa. xiii. 6. "Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, כשד משרי יבוא. It shall come as a destruction from the Almighty," (destroyer.)

‡ Homer hath well joined these two, ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερος Κρονίδι, ἔκαστε ἀνθρώπων. Εὐ νυ καὶ ἡμῖς ἰδμεν δ' τοιοῦτος οὐκ ἴσμεν ἄνθρωπον.

not more inclinable to obey God than man; but God is more powerful to exact subjection, and to vindicate rebellion. In respect of the infinity, and irresistibility of which active power we must acknowledge him *Almighty*; and so, according to the most vulgar acceptance, give the second explication of his omnipotency.*

But because this word *Almighty* is twice repeated in the CREED,† once in this first article, and again in the sixth, where Christ is represented *sitting at the right hand of God the Father Almighty*; and although in our English and the Latin the same words be expressed in both places, yet in the ancient Greek copies there is a manifest distinction; being the word in the first article may equally comprehend God's power in operation, as well as authority in dominion; whereas that in the sixth speaketh only infinity of power, without relation to authority or dominion: I shall therefore reserve the explication of the latter unto its proper place, designing to treat particularly of God's infinite power where it is most peculiarly expressed; and so conclude briefly with two other interpretations which some of the ancients have made of the original word, belonging rather to philosophy than divinity, though true in both. For some have stretched this word *Almighty* according to the Greek notation,‡ to signify that God holdeth, encircleth, and containeth all things. "Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth?" (Prov. xxx. 4.) who but God? "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure?" (Isai. xl. 12.) who but he? Thus then may he be called *Almighty*, as holding, containing, and comprehending all things.

Others extend it farther yet, beyond that of containing or comprehension, to a more immediate influence of sustaining

* Hoc nisi credamus, periclitatur ipsum nostræ fidei confessionis initium, qui nos in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem credere confitemur. Neque enim veraciter ob aliud vocatur Omnipotens, nisi quia quicquid vult potest, nec voluntate cujuspiam creature voluntatis omnipotentis impeditur effectus. St. Aug. Enchir. c. 96.

† Article 1. Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα. Art. 6. καὶ εἰς υἱόν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ πατρὸς παντοδύναμον, as it is in the ancient

copy of the Creed, taken out of the library of Bennet college, and set forth by the archbishop of Armagh.

‡ As Theophilus bishop of Antioch, giving account of those words which are attributed unto God, as Θεός, κύριος, ὑψίστος, tells us he is called παντοκράτωρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ πάντα κρατεῖ καὶ ὑπερείχει· τὰ γὰρ ἔν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὰ βάθρα τῶν ἀβύσσων, καὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἵσται. Ad Autol. l. i.

or preservation.* For the same power which first gave being unto all things, continueth the same being unto all. "God giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things. In him we live, move, and have our being," (Acts xvii. 25. 28.) saith the strangest philosopher that ever entered Athens, the first expositor of that blind inscription, "To the unknown God." "How could any thing have endured, if it had not been thy will? or been preserved, if not called by thee?" (Wisd. xi. 25.) as the wisdom of the Jews confesseth. Thus did the Levites stand and bless: "Thou, even thou, art Lord alone: thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth and all things that are therein, the sea and all that is therein, and thou preservest them all." (Neh. ix. 6.) Where the continual conservation of the creature is in equal latitude attributed unto God with their first production. Because there is an absolute necessity of preserving us from returning unto nothing by annihilation, as there was for first bestowing an existence on us by creation. And in this sense God is undoubtedly *Almighty*, in that he doth sustain, uphold, and constantly preserve all things in that being which they have.

From whence we may at last declare what is couched under this attribute of God, how far this omnipotency extends itself, and what every Christian is thought to profess, when he addeth this part of the first article of his Creed, *I believe in God the Father ALMIGHTY*.

As I am persuaded of an infinite and independent Essence, which I term a God, and of the mystery of an eternal generation by which that God is a Father: so I assure myself that Father is not subject to infirmities of age, nor is there any weakness attending on the "Ancient of days:" but, on the contrary, I believe omnipotency to be an essential attribute of his Deity, and that not only in respect of operative and active power, (concerning which I shall have occasion to express my faith hereafter) but also in regard of power authoritative, in which I must acknowledge his antecedent and

* As Greg. Nyss. Οὐκ οὐδ' ἔστιν τῆς Πα-
ντοκράτου φωνῆς ἀκούσασθαι, τοῦτο νοοῦμεν, τὸ
πάντα τὰς διὰ ἐν τῇ σῶσις συνέχεν; Neither
says he, would God be termed παντοκρά-
τος εἰ μὴ ὥστε ἡ κτίσις τοῦ παντοκράτορος
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ σῶσις συνεπέσθαι, ἰδίῳ.
contra Eunom. l. i. Creatoris Omnipoten-

tia, et Omnipotentis atque omnitenentis
virtus, est causa subsistendi omni Crea-
turæ. Quæ virtus ab eis quæ creata sunt
regendis si aliquando cessaret, simul et
illorum cessaret species, omnisque natura
concideret. St. Aug. in Genes. l. iv. c. 12.

eternal right of making what, and when, and how he pleased, of possessing whatsoever he maketh by direct dominion, of using and disposing as he pleaseth all things which he so possesseth. This dominion I believe most absolute in respect of its independency, both in the original, and the use or exercise thereof: this I acknowledge infinite for amplitude or extension, as being a power over all things without exception; for plenitude or perfection, as being all power over every thing without limitation; for continuance or duration, as being eternal without end or conclusion. Thus *I believe in God the Father Almighty.*

Maker of Heaven and Earth.

Although this last part of the first article were not expressed in the ancient CREEDS,* yet the sense thereof was delivered in the first rules of faith,† and at last these particular words inserted both in the Greek and Latin confessions. And indeed the work of creation most properly followeth the attribute of omnipotency, as being the founda-

* For we find it not mentioned by St. Augustine de Fide et Symbolo; neither hath Rufinus expounded it in the Aquileian, or noted it to be found in the Roman or Oriental Creeds. Leo, reciting the three first articles in his epistle to Flavianus, maketh no mention of it. *Epist.* 10. Maximus Taurinensis hath it not in Traditione Symboli, nor Petrus Chrysologus in his Sermons, amongst six several expositions. It is not in the Homilies of Eusebius Gallicanus, or the exposition of Venantius Fortunatus. Marcellus bishop of Ancyra left it not at Rome with Julius; nor did Arius in his catholic confession unto Constantine acknowledge it. Neither are the words to be found in the Latin or Greek copy of the Creed, written about the beginning of the eighth century, and published out of the MSS. by the most reverend and learned Archbishop of Armagh; or in that which Etherius and Beatus produced against Elipandus archbishop of Toledo, towards the end of the seventh century.

† As in that delivered by Irenæus, *Εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεισιν πάντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Adver. Her.* 1. i. c. 2. And that by Tertul. *Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit. De præser. adv. Her.* c. 13. And that under the name of Novatian, not in formal

words, but with an (*id est*) by way of explication. *Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum Omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, qui cælum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejecta mole solidavit, maria soluto liquore diffudit, et hæc omnia propriis et condignis instrumentis et ornata et plena digessit. De Trin.* c. 1. It was also observed by Origen, that the Christians were wont most frequently to mention God under that as the most common title. *Ἡ γὰρ ἀρεστὸς ἐμολογοῦσι τὸ, κοινὸν ὄνομα, ὁ θεός, ἢ καὶ κατὰ προσθήκης τῆς, ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων, ὁ ποιητὴς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. Adv. Celsum.* l. ii. Eusebius delivered the first article thus in his Confession to the Nicene council: *Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν* and that council expressed the same without alteration in their Creed. But after the Nicene council we find added *ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechism, and Epiphanius in Ancorato: which addition was received, confirmed and transmitted to us by the council of Constantinople. By which means at last we find this Article thus expressed in the western Confessions, *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cæli et terre.*

tion of the first, and the demonstration of the second explication of it. As then we believe there is a God, and that God *Almighty*; as we acknowledge that same God to be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in him of us: so we also confess, that the same God the *Father made both heaven and earth*. For the full explication of which operation, it will be sufficient, first, to declare the latitude of the object, what is comprehended under the terms of *heaven and earth*; secondly, to express the nature of the action, the true notion of creation, by which they were made; and thirdly, to demonstrate the Person to whom this operation is ascribed.

For the first, I suppose it cannot be denied as the sense of the CREED, that under the terms of *heaven and earth* are comprehended all things; because the first rules of faith did so express it; and the most ancient Creeds had either, instead of these words, or together with them, *the Maker of all things visible and invisible*, which being terms of immediate contradiction, must consequently be of universal comprehension; nor is there any thing imaginable which is not visible, or invisible. Being then these were the words of the Nicene Creed; being the addition of *heaven and earth* in the Constantinopolitan could be no diminution to the former, which they still retained together with them, saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible*; it followeth, that they which in the Latin church made use only of this last addition, could not choose but take it in the full latitude of the first expression.

And well may this be taken as the undoubted sense of the CREED, because it is the known language of the sacred Scriptures. "In six days (saith Moses) the Lord made heaven and earth:" (Exod. xxxi. 17.) in the same time, saith God himself, "the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is." (Exod. xx. 11.) So that all things by those two must be understood which are contained in them; and we know no being which is made or placed without them. When God would call a general rendezvous, and make up an universal auditory, the prophet cries out, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth." (Isai. i. 2.) When he would express the full splendour of his majesty, and utmost extent of his actual dominion: "Thus saith the Lord, the heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." (Isai. lxvi. 1.)

When he would challenge unto himself those glorious attributes of immensity and omnipresence, "Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord." (Jer. xxiii. 24.) These two then taken together signify the universe, or that which is called the world. St. Paul hath given a clear exposition of these words in his explication of the Athenian altar: "God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands." (Acts xvii. 24.) For being God is necessarily the Lord of all things which he made (the right of his direct dominion being clearly grounded upon the first creation), except we should conceive the apostle to exempt some creature from the authoritative power of God, and so take some work out of his hand out of the reach of his arm; we must confess that *heaven and earth* are of as large extent and ample signification as the *world and all things therein*. Where it is yet farther observable, that the apostle hath conjoined the speech of both Testaments together. For the ancient Hebrews seem to have had no word in use among them which singly of itself did signify the world, as the Greeks had, in whose language St. Paul did speak; and therefore they used in conjunction the *heaven and earth*, as the grand extremities within which all things are contained.* Nay, if we take the exposition of the later writers in that language, those two words will not only as extremities comprehend between them, but in the extension of their own significations contain all things in them. For when they divide the universe into three worlds,† the inferior, the superior, and the middle

* Καλῶς δὲ πάντες σχολῶν ἐξεδέξαντο τοῖς ἀκριβοῦς, οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν, τὰ μέγα συμπεριελημένα στοιχεῖα. πῶς δὲ ἅπαντα φύμι; ὅτι γῆ μὲν τὸ κέντρον παντὸς ἐμπεριέλαβε· καὶ ἔστι κατωθὲν μὲν ἀρχὴ πάντων ἡ γῆ, πῆρας δὲ τούτων ὁ ὠκεανὸς περιέχει οὐρανός· τοῦμαλιν δὲ ἀνωθεν, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ οὐρανός, πῆρας δὲ πάντων ἡ γῆ· μετὰ δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ λοιπὰ τρία περιέχονται στοιχεῖα. Jo. Philop. de mundi Creat. l. i. c. 5. Τῷ μετὰ οὐρανὸν σώματι (ἡ φύσις) τὸ πῆρας τοῦ παντός ἀπένειμα, τῷ δὲ περιγίῳ τὸ κέντρον ἐν δὲ σφαίρᾳ ἄλλως μὲν τὸ κέντρον ἀρχὴ, ἄλλως δὲ ὁ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὅρος. Hierocl. in Aur. Carm.

† For the Rabbins usually divide the whole frame of things into. שלש עולמות the first, עולם התחתון the inferior, or עולם השפל the de-

pressed and lowest world; הוא זה עולם that is this world, say they, to wit, this globe of earth on which we live. This they divide into three parts; ים the sea, lakes and rivers, מדבר the desert, solitary and uninhabitable places, רחוק מן הישוב far from the habitations of men, and ישוב תוך הישוב, the earth inhabited. The second is called עולם התיכון the middle or inmost world; הוא זה עולם הגלגלים this is the world of the spheres, containing the aerial region, and the starry heavens. The third is, עולם העליון the superior world; הוא זה עולם המלאכים this is the world of angels, אלהים of God, נפשות of souls, עולם הרוחני the spiritual world.

world; the lower is wholly contained in the name of *earth*, the other two under the name of *heaven*. Nor do the Hebrews only use this manner of expression, but even the Greeks themselves; and that not only before but after* Pythagoras† had accustomed them to one name. As therefore under the single name of world or universe,‡ so also under the conjunctive expression of *heaven and earth*, are contained all things material and immaterial, visible and invisible.

But as the apostle hath taught us to reason, "When he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him:" (1 Cor. xv. 27.) so when we say, all things were made by God, it is as manifest that he is excepted who made all things. And then the proposition is clearly thus delivered; All beings whatsoever beside God were made. As we read in St. John concerning the *Word*, that "the world was made by him;" (John i. 10.) and in more plain and express words before, "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." (John i. 3.) Which is yet farther illustrated by St. Paul: "For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him," (Col. i. 16.) If then there be nothing imaginable which is not either in heaven or in earth, nothing which is not either visible or invisible, then is there nothing beside God which was not made by God.

This then is the unquestionable doctrine of the Christian faith, That the vast capacious frame of the world, and every thing any way contained and existing in it, hath not its essence from or of itself, nor is of existence absolutely necessary; but what it is, it hath not been, and that being which it hath was made, framed and constituted by another. And

Now being these three comprehend all things imaginable; being the first is sufficiently expressed in ארץ *the earth*, and the two last in שמים *the heaven*; it followeth that, in the sense of the Hebrews, *heaven and earth* signify all things.

* Εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαις, εἰς ἑστὶν θεός, ὅς οὐρανὸν τίττωκε καὶ γῆν μακράν.

† Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος ἀνέμασε τὴν τῶν ὀντων ἐκείνην, κόσμον, ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως. Plut. de Plac. Philosoph. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ Si Mundum dixeris, illico erit et cœlum, et quæ in eo sol, et luna, et sidera, et astra, et terra, et freta, et omnis sensus elementorum. Omnia dixeris, cum id dixeris, quod ex omnibus constat. Tertul. de Virg. Veland. c. 4. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν κοινωνίαν συνίχυν, καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ κοσμιότητα, καὶ σωφροσύνην, καὶ δικαιοσύνην· καὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο διὰ ταῦτα κόσμον καλοῦσιν. Iambli. Protrept. but the words are Plato's in Gorgia.

as "every house is builded by some man;" (Heb. iii. 4.) for we see the earth bears no such creature of itself; stones do not grow into a wall, or first hew and square, then unite and fasten themselves together in their generation; trees sprout not cross like dry and sapless beams, nor do spars and tiles spring with a natural uniformity into a roof, and that out of stone and mortar: these are not the works of nature, but superstructions and additions to her, as the supplies of art, and the testimonies of the understanding of man, the great artificer on earth: so if the world itself be but a house,* if the earth, which "hangeth upon nothing," (Job xxvi. 7.) be the foundation, and the glorious spheres of heaven the roof (which hath been delivered as the most universal hypothesis), if this be the habitation of an infinite intelligence, the temple of God;† then must we acknowledge the world was built by him, and consequently, that "he which built all things is God."

From hence appears the truth of that distinction, Whatsoever hath any being, is either made or not made: whatsoever is not made, is God; whatsoever is not God, is made. One uncreated and independent Essence; all other depending on it, and created by it. One of eternal and necessary existence; all other indifferent, in respect of actual existing, either to be or not to be, and that indifferency determined only by the free and voluntary act of the first Cause.

Now because to be thus made includes some imperfection, and among the parts of the world, some are more glorious than others; if those which are most perfect presuppose a Maker, then can we not doubt of a creation where we find far less perfection. This house of God, though uniform, yet is not all of the same materials, the footstool and the throne are not of the same mould; there is a vast difference between the heavenly expansions. This first ærial heaven, where God setteth up his pavilion, where "he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind," (Psal. civ. 3.) is not so far inferior in place as it is in glory to the next, the seat of the sun and moon, the two great lights, and stars innumerable, far greater than the one of them.

* Ο αἰσθητός οὐρανὸς κόσμος οὐδὲν ἄρα ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ οἶκος Θεοῦ. Philo de Insomn. Κόσμος ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἰσὺν Θεοῦ νομίζεται. Id. de Plant. Nos. Θεῶν τι μέγεθος ὁ κόσμος, καὶ οἶκος Θεοῦ αἰσθητός. Id. de Mundi Incorr. Monarch. † Lucretius calls the heavens Mundi magnum et versatile templum. l. v. Τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἰσὺν Θεοῦ νομίζεται. Id. de Plant. Nos. Θεῶν τι μέγεθος ὁ κόσμος, καὶ οἶκος Θεοῦ αἰσθητός. Id. de Mundi Incorr. Monarch.

And yet that second heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the "third," (2 Cor. xii. 2.) into which St. Paul was caught. The brightness of the sun doth not so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. For in this great temple of the world, in which the Son of God is the high-priest, the heaven which we see is but the veil, and that which is above, the holy of holies. This veil indeed is rich and glorious, but one day to be rent, and then to admit us into a far greater glory, even to the mercy-seat and cherubim. For this third heaven is the "proper habitation" (*Ἰδιον οἰκητήριον*. Jude v. 6.) of the blessed angels, which constantly attend upon the throne. And if those most glorious and happy spirits, those "morning stars *which* sang together, *those* sons of God *which* shouted for joy *when* the foundations of the earth were laid," (Job xxxviii. 4. 7.) if they and their habitation were made; then can we no ways doubt of the production of all other creatures so much inferior unto them.

Forasmuch then as the angels are termed the "sons of God," it sufficiently denoteth that they are from him, not of themselves; all filiation inferring some kind of production: and being God hath but one proper and only-begotten Son, whose propriety and singularity consisteth in this, that he is of the same increated essence with the Father, all other offspring must be made, and consequently even the angels created sons; of whom the Scripture speaking saith, "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." (Psal. civ. 4.) For although those words, at first spoken by the Psalmist, do rather express the nature of the wind and lightning: yet being the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews hath applied the same to the angels properly so called, we cannot but conclude upon his authority, that the same God who "created the wind," (Amos iv. 13.) and "made a way for the lightning of the thunder," (Job xxviii. 26.) hath also produced those glorious spirits; and as he furnished them with that activity there expressed, so did he frame the subject of it, their immaterial and immortal essence.

If then the angels and their proper habitation, the far most eminent and illustrious parts of the world, were made; if only to be made be one character of imperfection; much more must we acknowledge all things of inferior nature to

have dependence on their universal Cause, and consequently this great universe, or all things, to be made, beside that one who made them.

This is the first part of our Christian faith, against some of the ancient philosophers, who were so wildly fond of those things they see, that they imagined the universe to be infinite and eternal,* and, what will follow from it, to be even God himself. It is true that the most ancient of the heathen were not of this opinion, but all the philosophy for many ages delivered the world to have been made.†

When this tradition of the creation of the world was delivered in all places down successively by those which seriously considered the frame of all things; and the difference of the most ancient poets and philosophers from Moses was only in the manner of expressing it; those which in after-ages first denied it, made use of very frivolous and inconcluding arguments, grounding their new opinion upon weak foundations.

For that which in the first place they take for granted as an axiom of undoubted truth, that ‡ “Whatsoever hath a

* *Mundum et hoc quod nomine alio cœlum appellare libuit, ejus circumflexu teguntur cuncta, numen esse credi par est æternum, immensum, neque genitum, neque interitum unquam. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 1.*

† *Γενόμενοι μὲν οὖν ἄπαρτις εἶναι φασιν, says Aristotle, De Cœlo. l. i. c. 10. confessing it the general opinion that the world was made. Which was so ancient a tradition of all the first philosophers, that from Linus, Musæus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, and the rest, they all mention the original of the world, entitling their books, Κοσμογονία, or Θεογονία, or the like. Εἰσι γὰρ τινες ὧς φασιν οὐδὲν ἀγέννητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γήγνησθαι. γηόμενα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀφάρτα διαμύνειν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθίεσθαι· μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον, εἴτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρότεροι φυσιολόγησαντες, says Aristotle, De Cœlo, l. iii. c. 1. In which words he manifestly attributes the doctrine of the creation of the world not only to Hesiod, but to all the first natural philosophers: which learning, beginning with Prometheus the first professor of that science, continued in that family amongst the Atlantidae, who all successively delivered that truth. After them the Ionian philosophy did acknowledge it, and the Italian received it by Pythagoras, whose scholars all maintained it beside Ocellus Lucanus, the first of them that*

fancied the world not made, whom Plato, though he much esteemed him, yet followed not; for there is nothing more evident than that he held the world was made. *Λέγουσιν δὲ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ὁ ξυνοτάτος ξυνοτάσσειν, ἀγαθὸς ἦν. In which words he delivers not only the generation of the universe, but also the true cause thereof, which is the goodness of God. For he which asks this plain and clear question, πότερον ἦν αἰεὶ, γηότατος ἀρχὴν ἔχον οὐδαμῶς, ἢ γήγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρχόμενος; and answers the question briefly with a γήγονεν. He which gives this general rule upon it, τῷ δ' αὖ γενομένῳ φαμὲν ὡς αἰτίου τινος ἀνάγκην εἶναι γηόσθαι, and then immediately concludes, τὸν μὲν οὖν πωτὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς εἶρην τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρύτα εἰς πάντας ἀδύπαιτον λήγειν cannot (notwithstanding all the shifts of his Greek expositors) be imagined to have conceived the world not made. And Aristotle, who best understood him, tells us clearly his opinion ἢ τῷ Τιμαίῳ, from whence I cited the precedent words, ἐκτὶ γὰρ φησι τὸν οὐρανὸν (where by the way observe that in Plato's *Timæus* οὐρανὸς καὶ κόσμος are made synonymous) γηόσθαι μὲν, οὐ μὲν φθαρτὴν.*

‡ *Ocellus Lucanus, περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φύσεως, which book Aristotle hath made use of, and transcribed in many parts.*

beginning, must have an end," and consequently, "Whatsoever shall have no end, hath no beginning," is grounded upon no general reason, but only upon particular observation of such things here below, as from the ordinary way of generation, tend in some space of time unto corruption. From whence, seeing no tendency to corruption in several parts of the world, they conclude that it was never generated, nor had any cause or original of its being. Whereas, if we would speak properly, future existence or non-existence hath no such relation unto the first production. Neither is there any contradiction that at the same time one thing may begin to be, and last but for an hour, another continue for a thousand years, a third beginning at the same instant remain for ever: the difference being either in the nature of the thing so made, or in the determinations of the will of him that made them. Notwithstanding then their universal rules, which are not true but in some limited particulars, it is most certain the whole world was made, and of it part shall perish, part continue unto all eternity; by which something which had a beginning shall have an end, and something not.

The second fallacy which led them to this novelty was the very name of universe, which comprehended in it all things; from whence they reasoned thus: If the world or universe were made, then were all things made; and if the world shall be dissolved, then all things shall come to nothing;* which is impossible. For if all things were made, then must either all, or at least something, have made itself, and so have been the cause of itself as of the effect, and the effect of itself as of the cause, and consequently in the same instant both have been and not been, which is a contradiction. But this fallacy is easily discovered: for when we say the universe or all things were made, we must be always understood to except him who made all things, neither can we by that name be supposed to comprehend more than the frame of heaven and earth, and all things contained in them; and so he which first devised this argument hath himself acknowledged.†

* Τὸ πᾶν γινόμενον οὐκ ὅτι γίνεται, καὶ τὸ φθιρόμενον οὐκ ὅτι φθίρεται· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἀδύνατον. ἀναρχον οὐκ καὶ ἀτελεύτητον τὸ πᾶν. Ocellus.

† Τὸ δὲ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὀνομάζω τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἰτυχῆ, ἐν τῶν ἀπάντων δὴ κομῆσι. Ocellus.

Far more gross was that third conceit, That, if the world were ever made, it must be after the vulgar way of ordinary natural generations: in which * two mutations are observable, the first from less to greater, or from worse to better; the second from greater to less, or from better to worse. (The beginning of the first mutation is called generation, the end of it perfection: the beginning of the second is from the same perfection, but concluded in corruption or dissolution.) † But none hath ever yet observed that this frame of the world did ever grow up from less to greater, or improve itself from worse to better: nor can we now perceive that it becomes worse or less than it was, by which decrection we might guess at a former increase, and from a tendency to corruption collect its original generation. This conceit, I say, is far more gross. For certainly the argument so managed proves nothing at all, but only this (if yet it prove so much), that the whole frame of the world, and the parts thereof which are of greater perfection, were not generated in that manner in which we see some other parts of it are: which no man denies. But that there can be no other way of production beside these petty generations, or that the world was not some other way actually produced, this argument doth not endeavour to infer, nor can any other prove it.

The next foundation upon which they cast off the constant doctrine of their predecessors, was that general assertion, That it is impossible for any thing to be produced out of nothing, or to be reduced unto nothing: ‡ from whence it will inevitably follow, that the matter of this world hath always been, and must always be. The clear refutation of which difficulty requires an explication of the manner how the world was made: the second part before propounded for the exposition of this article.

Now that the true nature and manner of this action may

* Πάν τὸ γενέσθαι ἀρχὴν εὐληφὲς καὶ δα-
αύσεως ὀφείλον κοινωπῆσαι δύο ἐπιδέχεται
μεταβολάς. μίαν μὲν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐπὶ
τὸ μῆζον, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλ-
τιον· δευτέραν δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μῆζονος ἐπὶ τὸ
μείον, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον.
Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν γεννητὸν ἴσται
καὶ φθαγτὸν, γινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐπὶ τὸ
μῆζον μετέβαλε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ
βέλτιον. Ocellus.

† Τὸ δὲ γε ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ παρῆχεται τεκμήριον τοιαύτων· οὔτε γὰρ
γενόμενον αὐτὸ εἶδομεν, οὔτε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλ-
τιον καὶ τὸ μῆζον μεταβάλλον, οὔτε χείρον
ποτε ἢ μείον γινόμενον· ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κατὰ ταυτὸ
καὶ ὡσαύτως διατελεῖ, καὶ ἴσον καὶ ὅμοιον αὐτὸ
ἑαυτοῦ. Ocellus.

‡ Ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸ ὃν ἀποτελεῖσθαι, ἐκ τῶν
μὴ ὄντων, ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὃν ἀναλυθῆναι. ἀφθαγτὸν
ἀρα καὶ ἀνάλεθρον τὸ πᾶν. Ocellus.

be so far understood as to declare the Christian faith, and refute the errors of all opposers, it will be necessary to consider it first with reference to the object or effect; secondly, in relation to the cause or agent; thirdly, with respect unto the time or origination of it.

The action by which the heaven and earth were made, considered in reference to the effect, I conceive to be the production of their total being; so that whatsoever entity they had when made, had no real existence before they were so made. And this manner of production we usually term *creation*, as excluding all concurrence of any material cause, and all dependence of any kind of subject, as presupposing no privation, as including no motion, as signifying a production out of nothing; that is, by which something is made, and not any thing preceding out of which it is made.* This is the proper and peculiar sense of the word *creation*: not that it signifies so much by virtue of its origination or vulgar use in the Latin tongue;† nor that the Hebrew word used by Moses, “In the beginning God *created* the heaven and the earth,” hath of itself any such peculiar acceptation. For it is often used synonymously‡ with words which signify any kind of production or formation, and by itself it seldom

* So I conceive it best expressed by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury: Dicitur aliquid esse factum de nihilo, cum intelligimus esse quidem factum, sed non esse aliquid unde sit factum. *Menologii*, c. 8.

† Creatio apud nos generatio vel natiuitas dicitur, apud Græcos vero sub nomine creationis verbum facturæ et conditionis accipitur. *S. Hieron. ad Eph.* 4.

‡ **בָּרָא** is promiscuously used with **עָשָׂה** which is of the greatest latitude, denoting any kind of effectation, and with **יָצַד** which rather implies a formation out of something, from whence **יָצַד** a potter. For the first, we read Gen. ii. 3. “that God rested from all his work,” **אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת** not that on the sixth day he did the work of two days, that he might rest on the seventh; as Rabbi Solomon; not that in six days he made the roots of things that they might afterwards produce the like, as Aben Ezra; not these or any other fancies of the Rabbins; as if **בָּרָא** signified one work and **עָשָׂה** another; for they both express the production, as appears clearly in the following verse, “These are the ge-

nerations of the heavens and of the earth, **בְּהִבְרָאם** when they were created, **בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת** in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth.” So Isa. xlv. 12. “I have made the earth, and created man upon it:” where the first expresseth the proper, the second the improper creation. Which indifferent acceptance appeareth in collating Psal. cxv. 15. cxxi. 2. with Isa. xlii. 5. xlv. 18. as also Isa. xvii. 7. with Eccl. xii. 1. From whence the LXX. translate **בָּרָא** indifferently **ποίησιν** or **κτίσιν**. For the second, **יָצַד** is usually rendered by the Targum **בָּרָא** and by the LXX. thought generally **ποίησιν**, yet sometimes **κτίσιν**. And that it hath the same signification, will appear by conferring Gen. ii. 7. with Isa. xlv. 12. and not only so, but by that single verse, Isa. xliii. 1. “Now thus saith the Lord **בָּרָאךְ** that created thee, O Jacob, **וַיַּצְדְּךָ** and he that formed thee, O Israel.” Lastly, all these are jointly used in the same validity of expression, Isa. xliii. 7. “Every one that is called by my name: for **בְּרָאתִי** I have created him for my glory, **יָצַרְתִּי** I have formed him, yea **עָשִׂיתִי** I have made him.”

denotes a production out of nothing, or proper creation, but most frequently the making of one substance out of another pre-existing, as the fishes of the water, (Gen. i. 21.) man of the dust of the earth; (Gen. i. 27. ii. 7.) the renovating or restoring any thing to its former perfection, (Psal. li. 10. Isa. lxxv. 17.) for want of Hebrew words in composition; or lastly, the doing some new or wonderful work,* the producing some strange and admirable effect, as the opening the mouth of the earth, (Numb. xvi. 30.) and the signal judgments on the people of Israel. (Isa. lxxv. 7.)

We must not therefore weakly collect the true nature of creation from the force of any word which by some may be thought to express so much, but we must collect it from the testimony of God the creator, in his word, and of the world created, in our reason. The opinion of the church of the Jews will sufficiently appear in that zealous mother to her seventh and youngest son; "I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not:" (2 Macc. vii. 28.) which is a clear description of *creation*, that is, production out of nothing. But because this is not by all received as canonical, we shall therefore evince it by the undoubted testimony of St. Paul, who, expressing the nature of Abraham's faith, propoundeth "him whom he believed as God who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were." For, as *to be called* in the language of the Scripture is *to be*, ("Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God," (1 John iii. 1.) saith St. John in his Epistle, who in his Gospel told us, "he hath given us power to become the sons of God:") so *to call* is *to make*, or *cause to be*. As where the prophet Jeremy saith, "Thou hast caused all this evil to come upon them," (Jer. xxxii. 23. מְקַדְּשֵׁי) the original may be thought to speak no more than this, "thou hast called this evil to them." He therefore "calleth those things which be not, as if they were," who maketh those things which were not, to be, and produceth that which hath a being out of that which

* Creatio atque conditio nunquam nisi in magnis operibus nominantur: verbi causa, mundus creatus est, urbs condita est, domus vero, quamvis magna sit, ædificata potius dicitur, quam condita vel creata. In magnis enim operibus atque facturis verbum creationis assumitur. St. Hier. ad Eph. c. 4.

had not, that is, out of nothing. This reason, generally persuasive unto faith, is more peculiarly applied by the apostle to the belief of the creation: for "through faith (saith he) we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." (Heb. xi. 3.) Not as if the earth, which we see, were made of air, or any more subtle body, which we see not; nor as if those "things which are seen" were in equal latitude commensurable with the worlds which were framed: but that those "things which are seen," that is, which are, were made of those "which did not appear,"* that is, which were not.

Vain therefore was that opinion of a real matter coeval with God as necessary for production of the world by way of subject, as the eternal and Almighty God by way of efficient. For if some real and material being must be presupposed by indispensable necessity, without which God could not cause any thing to be, then is not he independent in his actions, nor of infinite power and absolute activity, which is contradictory to the Divine perfection. Nor can any reason be alleged why he should be dependent in his operation, who is confessed independent in his being.

And as this coeternity of matter opposeth God's independency, the proper notion of the Deity, so doth it also contradict his all-sufficiency. For if, without the production of something beside himself, he cannot make a demonstration of his attributes, or cause any sensibility of his power and will for the illustration of his own glory; and if, without something distinct wholly from himself, he cannot produce any thing, then must he want something external:† and whosoever wanteth any thing is not all-sufficient. And certainly he must have a low opinion and poor conception of the infinite and eternal God, who thinks he is no otherwise

* For I take *μη ἐκ φαινομένων* in this place to be equivalent unto *οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων* in the Maccabees, and that of the same sense with *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, as the Syriac translation, *מִן אֵילָן דְּלֵיל מִתְחַזֵּק* ex iis quæ non conspiciuntur. Which manner of speech may be observed even in the best Greek authors: as in Aristotle, *μεταβάλλει ἂν τὸ μεταβάλλον τετραχῶς. ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου, εἰς ὑποκειμένου, ἢ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς οὐκ ὑποκειμένου, ἢ μὴ ἐξ ὑποκει-*

μένου εἰς ὑποκειμένου, ἢ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μὴ ὑποκειμένου. Where *οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου* is the same with *ἐξ οὐκ ὑποκειμένου*, and *μη ἐξ ὑποκειμένου* with *ἐκ μὴ ὑποκειμένου*.

† Nemo enim non eget eo de cuius utitur; nemo non subicitur ei cuius eget ut possit uti. Sic et nemo de alieno utendo, non minor est eo de cuius utitur; et nemo qui præstat de suo uti, non in hoc superior est eo cui præstat uti. Tertul. adv. Hermog. c. 8.

known to be omnipotent than by the benefit* of another. Nor were the framers of the CREED so wise in prefixing the *Almighty* before *Maker of heaven and earth*, if out of a necessity of material concurrence, the making of them left a mark of impotency rather than omnipotency.

The supposition then of an eternal matter is so unnecessary where God works, and so derogatory to the infinity of his power, and all-sufficiency of himself, that the later philosophers,† something acquainted with the truth which we profess, though rejecting Christianity, have reproved those of the school of Plato, who delivered, as the doctrine of their master, an eternal companion, so injurious to the Father and maker of all things.

Wherefore to give an answer to that general position, That out of nothing nothing can be produced, which Aristotle‡ pretends to be the opinion of all natural philosophers, I must first observe, that this universal proposition was first framed out of particular considerations of the works of art and nature. For if we look upon all kinds of artificers,§ we find they cannot give any specimen of their art without materials. Being then the beauty and uniformity of the world, shews it to be a piece of art most exquisite; hence they conclude that the Maker of it was the most exact artificer,|| and consequently had his matter from all eternity prepared for him. Again, considering the works of nature, and all parts of the world subject to generation and corruption, they also ¶ observed that nothing is ever generated but

* Grande revera beneficium contulit, ut haberet hodie per quem Deus cognosceretur et omnipotens vocaretur: nisi quod jam non omnipotens, si non et hoc potens, ex nihilo omnia proferre. *Ibid.* Quomodo ab homine divina illa vis diffiret, si, ut homo, sic etiam Deus ope indigeat aliena: Indiget autem si nihil moliri potest, nisi ab altero illi materia ministretur. *Lactan. l. ii. c. 9.*

† As Hierocles, Καὶ τί καταλέγει οὗτοι, ὅπου καὶ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν τινες εὐκέρηθιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ διασώζουσι ἑνοίαν; οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι φήθησαν, αὐτοτελῶς ὑποστήσας δύνασθαι κόσμον οὐκ αἰσὶν δυνάμει καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐξ αἰδίου ἐνεργούντα· ἀλλ' ἀγενήτου ὕλης συνεργαίᾳ· καὶ τῇ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑποστάσει φύσει καταχρῶμενον, μὴνως δημιουργεῖν δύνασθαι. *De Provid. et Fato.*

‡ Πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι· ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἢ ἐκ μὴ ὧν τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ

μὴ ὧν γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον· περὶ γὰρ ταύτης ὁμογνωμονοῦσι τῆς δόξης ἄσφαρτος· εἰ περὶ φύσεως. *Physic. l. ii. c. 1.*

§ Utigitur Faber cum quid ædificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur quæ sit parata, fictorque item cera: sic isti providentiæ divinæ materiam præsto esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam haberet paratam. *Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Ἀπεικαστίον τῷ μὲν θεῷ τὸν τεχόντην, τὸν δὲ ἀδριάντα τῷ κόσμῳ.* *Methodius περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν.*

|| So Hierocles calls him κοσμοποιὸν καὶ ἀριστότεχον θεόν, in *Aur. Carm.*

¶ Ὅτι δὲ αἱ οὐσίαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπλῶς ὄντα ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινος, γίνονται, ἐπισκοποῦντι γίνονται· ἂν φανερόν· αἱ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι δ' ὑπόκειται, ἐξ οὗ γίνονται τὸ γινόμενον, ὅλον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ σπέρματος. *Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 7.*

out of something pre-existent, nor is there any mutation wrought but in a subject, and with a presupposed capability of alteration. From hence they presently collected, that if the whole world were ever generated, it must have been produced out of some subject, and consequently there must be a matter eternally pre-existing.

Now what can be more irrational, than from the weakness of some creature to infer the same imbecility in the Creator, and to measure the arm of God by the finger of man? Whatsoever speaketh any kind of excellency or perfection in the artificer, may be attributed unto God: whatsoever signifieth any infirmity, or involveth any imperfection, must be excluded from the notion of him. That wisdom, pre-science, and preconception, that order and beauty of operation which is required in an artist, is most eminently contained in him, who hath "ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight:" (Wisd. xi. 20.) but if the most absolute idea in the artificer's understanding be not sufficient to produce his design without hands to work, and materials to make use of, it will follow no more that God is necessarily tied unto pre-existing matter, than that he is really compounded of corporeal parts.

Again, it is as incongruous to judge of the production of the world by those parts thereof which we see subject to generation and corruption: and thence to conclude, that if it ever had a cause of the being which it hath, it must have been generated in the same manner which they are; and if that cannot be, it must never have been made at all. For nothing is more certain than that this manner of generation cannot possibly have been the first production even of those things which are now generated. We see the plants grow from a seed; that is their ordinary way of generation: but the first plant could not be so generated, because all seed in the same course of nature is from the pre-existing plant. We see from spawn the fishes, and from eggs the fowls receive now the original of their being: but this could not at first be so, because both spawn and egg are as naturally from precedent fish and fowl. Indeed, because the seed is separable from the body of the plant, and in that separation may long contain within itself a power of germination: because the spawn and egg are sejungeable from the fish and fowl, and yet still retain the prolific power of generation; there-

fore some might possibly conceive that these seminal bodies might be originally scattered on the earth, out of which the first of all those creatures should arise. But in viviparous animals, whose offspring is generated within themselves, whose seed by separation from them loseth all its seminal or prolific power, this is not only improbable, but inconceivable. And therefore being the philosophers * themselves confess, that whereas now all animals are generated by the means of seed, and that the animals themselves must be at first before the seed proceeding from them; it followeth that there was some way of production antecedent to and differing from the common way of generation, and consequently what we see done in this generation can be no certain rule to understand the first production. Being then that universal maxim, that “nothing can be made of nothing,” is merely calculated for the meridian of natural causes, raised solely out of observation of continuing creatures by successive generation, which could not have been so continued without a being antecedent to all such succession; it is most evident it can have no place in the production of that antecedent or first being, which we call creation.

Now when we thus describe the nature of creation, and under the name of *heaven and earth* comprehend all things contained in them, we must distinguish between things created. For some were made immediately out of nothing, by a proper, some only mediately, as out of something formerly made out of nothing, by an improper kind of creation. By the first were made all immaterial substances, all the orders of angels; and the souls of men, the heavens, and the simple or elemental bodies, as the earth, the water, and the

* These words of Aristotle are very observable, in which he disputes against Spensippus and the Pythagoreans, who thought the rudiments of things first made, out of which they grew unto perfection: “Ὅσα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπενσίππος, τὸ ἀρσενὸν καὶ κάλλιστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ζῴων τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰτία μὲν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τίλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων, οὐκ ὁρθῶς εἰσονται. τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα ἐξ ἑτέρον ἐστὶ πρῶτον τίλειον καὶ τὸ πρῶτον οὐ σπέρμα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τίλειον. οἷον πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον ἀφανί τις εἶναι τοῦ σπέρματος, οὐ τὸν ἐκ τούτου γινώσκον, ἀλλ’ ἕτερον ἐξ οὗ τὸ σπέρμα. By which words Aristotle hath sufficient-

ly destroyed his own argument, which we produced before out of the first of the *Physica*, and is excellently urged in that philosophical piece attributed unto Justin Martyr. *El. πρῶτον ἐστὶ τὸ σπέρμα σπέρμα, καὶ ὅσπερ τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος γινώσκον, καὶ γινῆται ἀμφοτέρω, τῇ μὲν γινῆται τοῦ κειμένου ἐκ σπέρματος γινώσκοντος ὑπόκειται τὸ σπέρμα· τῇ δὲ γινῆται τοῦ σπέρματος ὑποκινῆσθαι τὸ σπέρμα οὐ δυνατόν. οὐκ ἄρα δὲ τὰ ζῷα καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐκ σπέρματος.* *Aristot. Dog. Evers. Plut. Sympos. l. ii. Probl. 3.* “Ὅθεν οὐδαίς λέγεται τοῦ σπέρματος εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ τοῦ ὡοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀλεκτορίδα· τῆς δὲ ἀλεκτορίδος τὸ ὡὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγεται.

air. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; (Gen. i. 1.) so "in the beginning," as without any pre-existing or antecedent matter. This earth, when so "in the beginning" made, was "without form and void," (Gen. i. 2.) covered with waters likewise made, not out of it but with it, the same which, "when the waters were gathered together unto one place, appeared as dry land." (Gen. i. 9.) * By the second, all the "hosts of the earth," the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, "Let the earth (said God) bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind. (Gen. i. 11.)—Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth;" (Gen. i. 20.) and more expressly yet, "Out of the ground God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air." (Gen. ii. 19.) And well may we grant these plants and animals to have their origination from such principles, when we read, "God formed man out of the dust of the ground;" (Gen. ii. 7.) and said unto him whom he created in his own image, "Dust thou art." (Gen. iii. 19.)

Having thus declared the notion of creation in respect of those things which were created, the next consideration is of that action in reference to the agent who created all things. Him therefore we may look upon first as moved; secondly, as free under that motion; thirdly, as determining under that freedom, and so performing of that action. In the first we may see his goodness, in the second his will, in the third his power.

I do not here introduce any external impulsive cause, as moving God unto the creation of the world; for I have presupposed all things distinct from him to have been produced out of nothing by him, and consequently to be posterior not only to the motion but the actuation of his will. Being then nothing can be antecedent to the creature beside God himself, neither can any thing be a cause of any of his actions but what is in him; we must not look for any thing extrinsical unto him, but wholly acquiesce in his infinite goodness, as the only moving and impelling cause; "There is none good but one, that is God,"† saith our

* Hic visibilis mundus ex materia quæ ἀγαθόν, ἄλλο τὸ κατ' ἔξιν ἀγαθόν, ἄλλο τὸ a Deo facta fuerat, factus est et ornatus. πρῶτως ἀγαθόν. Proclus in *Timæum*. Τὸ δὲ Gennad. c. 10. αὐτοαγαθὸν πρῶτως ἀγαθόν. *Ibid*.

† Matt. xix. 17. "Ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ ἐπιτήρητον

Saviour; none originally, essentially, infinitely, independently good, but he. Whatsoever goodness is found in any creature is but by way of emanation from that fountain, whose very being is diffusive, whose nature consists in the communication of itself. In the end of the sixth day "God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good:" (Gen. i. 31.) which shews the end of creating all things thus good, was the communication of that by which they were, and appeared so.

The ancient heathens have acknowledged this truth,* but with such disadvantage, that from thence they gathered an undoubted error. For from the goodness of God, which they did not unfitly conceive necessary, infinite, and eternal, † they collected that whatsoever dependeth of it must be as

* *Ad Plato, Αἰσχυμένον δὲ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῷδε ὁ ζῳιστὰς ἐξέστησεν, ἀγαθὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς δ' οὐδὲς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέν· οὐτὶς ἐγγίνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ἂν, πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι παρὰ πλῆξια αὐτῷ· ταύτην δὲ γενέσθαι κόσμου μέλιν· ἂν τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρ' ἀνδρῶν φροῖνηται ἀποδοχόμενος, ὁρῶντά τε ὑποδέχου' ἂν. In Timæo. Αἰτία γὰρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ποιήσεως οὐδέμιν ἄλλῃ πρότεστιν εὐλογος, πλὴν τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἀγαθότητος. Hieroc. in Aur. Carm. Αἱ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα λαγόμεναι αἰτίαι τῆς δημιουργίας τῷδε τοῦ παντός, ἀνδρῶν ἡ μὲν μάλλον περιεστᾶσιν ἢ τῷ θεῷ ἀπρίστουσι. Ibid.*

† *Ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα ὅτος τοῦ κόσμου, αἰτία τὸν θεὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑπερβαίνει ὥστε ἡλὼν μὲν καὶ περὶ συνυφίσταται φῶς, σάματι δὲ οὐκ. Sallustius, de Diis et mundo, c.7. Εἰ γὰρ ἄμεινον μὴ ποιεῖν, πῶς εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν μεταβίβηκε; εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιεῖν, τί μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκρεῖται; Hierocles de Fato et Provid. Neither doth he mean any less, when in his sense he thus describes the first Cause of all things; 'Εστ' ἂν (so I read it, not ἐστ', ἂν, as the printed copies, or ἐστ' ἂν, as Carterius) τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῶν αἰτίον ἀμετάβλητον πάντα καὶ ἀτρέστον, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τὴν αὐτὴν κατημύονον, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα οὐκ ἐπιτήκτον ἔχον, ἀλλ' οὐσιωμένῃ καὶ αὐτῇ, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι παράγον· so I read it, not πάντων πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, as the printed Hieroc. in Aur. Carm. Συνεργηταὶ ἅρα τῇ μὲν ἀγαθότητι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τῆς προνοίας ἐντέμναι· ταῦτα δὲ ἢ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διαίονος ποίησις· ταῦτα δὲ ἢ τοῦ παντός κατὰ τὴν ἀπειρον αἰδιότητος. καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ταύτην τε ἀναίρει, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ πεποιυμένου, Proclus in Timæum. Now although this be the constant argumentation of the later Platonists, yet they found no such deduc-*

tion or consequence in their master Plato, and I something incline to think, though it may seem very strange, that they received it from the Christians, I mean out of the school of Ammonius at Alexandria; whom though Porphyrius would make an apostate, for the credit of his heathen gods, yet St. Jerome hath sufficiently assured us that he lived and died in the Christian faith. The reason of my conjecture is no more than this: Proclus acknowledgeth that Plutarch and others, though with Plato they maintained the goodness of God to be the cause of the world, yet withal they denied the eternity of it: and when he quotes other expositors for his own opinion, he produceth none but Porphyrius and Jamblichus, the eldest of which was the scholar of Plotinus the disciple of Ammonius. And that he was of the opinion, I collect from him who was his scholar both in philosophy and divinity, that is, Origen, whose judgment, if it were not elsewhere apparent, is sufficiently known by the fragment of Methodius *περὶ γνησίων*, preserved in Photius. "Ὅτι δ' Ὀριγένης, ὃν πάντα οὐ καλῶς, ἔλεγε συναίτιον εἶναι τῷ μόνῳ σοφῷ καὶ ἀπροσδιᾷ θεῷ τὸ πᾶν. Being then Porphyrius and Jamblichus cited by Proclus, being Hierocles, Proclus, and Sallustius, were all either ἐκ τῆς ἐκείας γυνάδας, as they called it, that is, descended successively from the school of Ammonius (the great conciliator of Plato and Aristotle, and reformer of the ancient philosophy), or at least contemporary to them that were so; it is most probable that they might receive it from his mouth, especially considering that even Origen a Christian confirmed the same.

necessary and eternal, even as light must be as ancient as the sun, and a shadow as an opacous body in that light. If then there be no instant imaginable before which God was not infinitely good, then can there likewise be none conceivable before which the world was not made. And thus they thought the goodness of the Creator must stand or fall with the eternity of the creature.

For the clearing of which ancient mistake, we must observe, that as God is essentially and infinitely good without any mixture of deficiency, so is he in respect of all external actions or emanations absolutely free without the least necessity. Those bodies which do act without understanding or preconception of what they do, as the sun and fire give light and heat, work always to the utmost of their power, nor are they able at any time to suspend their action. To conceive any such necessity in the Divine operations, were to deny all knowledge in God, to reduce him into a condition inferior to some of the works of his own hands, and to fall under the censure contained in the Psalmist's question, "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?" (Psal. xciv. 9, 10.) Those creatures who are endued with understanding, and consequently with a will, may not only be necessitated in their actions by a greater power, but also as necessarily be determined by the proposal of an infinite good: whereas neither of these necessities can be acknowledged in God's actions, without supposing a power beside and above omnipotency, or a real happiness beside and above all-sufficiency. Indeed if God were a necessary agent in the works of creation, the creatures would be of as necessary a being as he is; whereas the necessity of being is the undoubted prerogative of the first cause. "He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will," (Ephes. i. 11.) saith the apostle: and wheresoever counsel is, there is election, or else it is vain; where a will, there must be freedom, or else it is weak. We cannot imagine that the all-wise God should act or produce any thing but what he determineth to produce; and all his determinations must flow from the immediate principle of his will. If then his determinations be free, as they must be coming from that principle, then must the actions which follow them be also free. Being then the goodness of God is absolutely perfect

of-itself, being he is in himself infinitely and eternally happy, and this happiness as little capable of augmentation as of diminution; he cannot be thought to look upon any thing without himself as determining his will to the desire, and necessitating to the production of it. If then we consider God's goodness, he was moved; if his all-sufficiency, he was not necessitated: if we look upon his will, he freely determined; if on his power, by that determination he created the world.

Wherefore that ancient conceit of a necessary emanation of God's goodness in the eternal creation of the world will now easily be refuted, if we make a distinction in the equivocal notion of goodness. For if we take it as it signifieth—a rectitude and excellency of virtue and holiness, with a negation of all things morally evil, vicious or unholy—so God is absolutely and necessarily good: but if we take it in another sense, as indeed they did who made this argument, that is, rather for beneficence, or communicativeness of some good to others; then God is not necessarily but freely good, that is to say, profitable and beneficial. For he had not been in the least degree evil or unjust, if he had never made the world or any part thereof, if he had never communicated any of his perfections by framing any thing beside himself. Every proprietary, therefore, being accounted master of his own, and thought freely to bestow whatever he gives, much more must that one eternal and independent Being be wholly free in the communicating his own perfections without any necessity or obligation. We must then look no farther than the determination of God's will in the creation of the world.

For this is the admirable power of God, that with him to will is to effect, to determine is to perform. So the elders speak before him that sitteth upon the throne; "Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure (that is, by thy will) they are and were created." (Rev. iv. 11.) Where there is no resistance in the object, where no need of preparation, application, or instrumental advantage in the agent, there the actual determination of the will is a sufficient production. Thus God did make the heavens and the earth by willing them to be.* This was his first command unto the creatures, and their existence was their first obedience. "Let there

* So Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of *μὴν ἰθεὺς αὐτὸν ἰσμεν τὸ γεννηθῆαι*. God. *ὡς τὸ βούλεσθαι δημιουργεῖν, καὶ τὸ Προτερεῖ.*

be light,"* this is the injunction; "and there was light," that is the creation. Which two are so intimately and immediately the same, that though in our and † other translations those words, *Let there be*, which express the command of God, differ from the other *there was*, which denote the present existence of the creature; yet in the original there is no difference at all, neither in point nor letter. And yet even in the diversity of the translation the phrase seems so expressive of God's infinite power, and immediate efficacy of his will, that it hath raised some admiration of Moses in the ‡ enemies of the religion both of the Jews and Christians. "God is in the heavens, he hath done whatsoever he pleased,"§ saith David; yea, in the making of the heavens; he therefore created them, because "he pleased;" nay, more, he thereby created them, even by willing their creation.

Now although some may conceive the creature might have been produced from all eternity by the free determination of God's will, and it is so far certainly true, that there is no instant assignable before which God could not have made the world; yet as this is an article of our faith, we are bound to believe the heavens and earth are not eternal. "Through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God." (Heb. xi. 3.) And by that faith we are assured, that whatsoever possibility of an eternal existence of the creature may be imagined, actually it had a temporal beginning; and therefore all the arguments for this world's eternity are nothing but so many erroneous misconceptions. "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old, (saith Wisdom.) I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was:" (Prov. viii. 22, 23.) And the same Wisdom of God being made

* Γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον γέγονεν.
 S. Basil. "Ὅταν δὲ φωνὴ θεοῦ καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ πρῶτον γέγονεν, τὸ ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡρώδης ἐν εἰδῇ πρῶτον γένεστος σχηματίζεται. Id. in Hexaem. Τίς ὑμῶν γὰρ εἶπετο ὁ θελήματι μόνον δημιουργῆσαι, ἡμεῖς τῇ βουλήσιν συμφερούμεν τῆς πίστεως, Id. l. ii. adv. Eunom.

† As γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. Fiat lux, et facta est lux, or as Aquila, γένεσθαι, καὶ ἐγένετο, as Symmachus, ἔστω, καὶ ἐγένετο all with a difference: whereas in the Hebrew it is a most expressive and significant tautology. Τὴν γὰρ τὴν γὰρ
 ‡ As Dionysius Longinus, ἀπὲρ ὕψους;

Sect. 7, Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεολόγος, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν λόγος, ἐκτελεῖ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει κατὰ τὴν εἰρήν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἐκβολὴν γένεστος τῶν πάντων. "Εἰς τὴν ἐκβολὴν, φησὶ τῇ γένεσθαι φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο, γένεσθαι γὰρ, καὶ ἐγένετο. Where observe, Longinus made use of the translation of Aquila.

§ Πάντα ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἔσονται οὐχὶ πρὸς τὴν δημιουργίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἀνω δυνάμεων ἦσαν ἡ θέλησις αὐτοῦ μόνη. S. Chrysost. 1. πρὶ τῷ ἀναγνώσει.

man, reflecteth upon the same priority, saying, "Now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine ownself, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." (John xvii. 5.) Yea, in the same Christ are we "blessed with all spiritual blessings, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world." The impossibility of the origination of a circular motion, which we are sure is either in the heaven or earth, and the impropriety of the beginning of time, are so poor exceptions, that they deserve not the least labour of refutation. The actual eternity of this world is so far from being necessary, that it is of itself most improbable; and without the infallible certainty of faith, there is no single person carries more evidences of his youth, than the world of its novelty.*

It is true indeed, some ancient accounts there are which would persuade us to imagine a strange antiquity of the world, far beyond the annals of Moses, and account of the same Spirit who made it. The † Egyptian priests pretended an exact chronology for some myriads of years, and the Chaldeans or ‡ Assyrians far outreckon them, in which they delivered not only a catalogue of their kings, but also a table of the § eclipses of the sun and moon.

But for their number of years nothing is more certain than their forgery; for the Egyptians did preserve the antiquities of other nations as well as their own, and by the evident fallacy in others have betrayed their own vanity. When Alex-

* As even Lucretius confesseth, and that out of the principles of Epicurus.

Verum, ut opinor, habet novitatem summa,
recensque

Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia
cepit.

† Plato tells us of an account which an Egyptian priest gave to Solon, in which the Athenians were nine thousand years old, and those of Sais eight thousand. Πεντέκων μὲν τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἑπταὶ χίλιοι ἐν γῆς τε καὶ ἡφαιστοῦ τὸ σπέρμα προλαβοῦσιν ἡμῶν. τὴν δὲ ἑστέραν τῆς δὲ ἐσθλῆς διακοσμήσεως παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ἑκαταχιλίαν ἑτῶν ἀριθμὸς γέγραπται. In *Timæo*. Pomponius Mela makes a larger account out of Herodotus: Ipsi vetustissimi (ut prædicant) hominum trecentos et triginta reges ante Amasim, et supra tredecim millium annorum ætates certis Annalibus; where, as the Egyptians much stretch the truth, so doth Mela stretch the relation of Hero-

dotus, who makes it not thirteen thousand, but eleven thousand three hundred and forty years. Diodorus Siculus tells us of twenty-three thousand years from the reign of the first king of Egypt to the expedition of Alexander: and Diogenes Laertius out of other authors more than doubles that account. Αἰγιώντιον μὲν γὰρ Νεῖλου γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἠφαιστοῦ, ὃν ἀρξαι φιλοσοφίας, ἧς τοὺς προσητάρας ἡμέας εἶναι καὶ προσητάρας, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἑτῶν εἶναι μυριάδας τέσσαρας, καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια ὀκτακισχίλια ἑτη ἱξήκοντα τέττα, forty-eight thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

‡ Ασσύριοι δὲ, φασὶν ἱάμβελιχος, οὐχ ἑτῶν καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας ἑτῶν μόνος ἐτίθησαν, ὥς φασιν Ἰωπάρχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑλᾶς ἀσυνα- ταστήσις καὶ περιόδος τῶν ἑτῶν κοσμομετα- τέρων μνήμην παραίδον. Proclus in *Timæum*.

§ Ἐν οἷς ἅλλοι μὲν ἐκαλίφαις γενέσθαι τριακοσίας ἰσχυρομένοντα τρεῖς, σελήνης δὲ ἐκτα- κοσίους τετακόντα δύο. Diog. Laert.

ander entered Egypt with his victorious army, the priests could shew him out of their sacred histories an account of the Persian empire, which he gained by conquest, and the Macedonian, which he received by birth, of each for eight thousand years;* whereas nothing can be more certain, out of the best historical account, than that the Persian empire, whether begun in Cyrus or in Medus, was not then three hundred years old, and the Macedonian, begun in Coranus, not five hundred. They then who made so large additions to advance the antiquity of other nations, and were so bold as to present them to those who so easily might refute them (had they not delighted to be deceived to their own advantage, and took much pleasure in an honourable cheat), may without any breach of charity be suspected to have extended the account much higher for the honour of their own country. Beside, their catalogues must needs be ridiculously incredible, when the Egyptians made the first kings' reigns above twelve hundred years a-piece,† and the Assyrians

* This fallacy appeareth by an epistle which Alexander wrote to his mother Olympias, mentioned by Athenagoras, Minutius Felix, St. Cyprian, and St. Augustine, Persarum autem et Macedonum imperium usque ad ipsum Alexandrum, cui loquebatur, plus quam octo millium annorum ille constituit; cum apud Græcos Macedonum usque ad mortem Alexandri quadringenti octoginta quinque reperiantur anni, Persarum vero, donec ipseus Alexandri victoria finirentur, ducenti et triginta tres computentur. *St. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. xii. c. 10.*

† As Diodorus Siculus takes notice of the Egyptians, and Abydenus of the Chaldeans, whose ten first kings reigned one hundred and twenty sari. *Ὡς τοὺς πάντας εἶναι βασιλεῖς δέκα· ὃν ὁ χρόνος τῆς βασιλείας ζυγῆς σάτους ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι.* Now this word *σάτος* was proper to the Babylonian or Chaldean account. *Hezech. Σάτος ἀριθμὸς τις παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους*, but what this number was he tells us not. In the fragment of Abydenus preserved by Eusebius, *Σάτος δὲ ἑκατὸν ἑξακλόντα καὶ τριακλόντα ἔτη*, every *Σάτος* three thousand six hundred years, and consequently the one hundred and twenty *σάτοι* belonging to the reign of the ten kings four hundred and thirty-two thousand years. Neither was this the account only of Abydenus, but also of Berosus; neither was it the interpretation only of Eusebius, but also of Alexander Polyhistor, who likewise expresseth

τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν σάτους ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι, ἥτοι ἑτῶν μυριάδας τισσαράμυττα τετρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας. This seemed so highly incredible, that two ancient monks, Anianus and Panodorus, interpreted those Chaldean years to be but days, so that every *σάτος* should consist of three thousand six hundred days, that is, nine years, ten months and a half, and the whole one hundred and twenty *σάτοι* for the ten kings eleven hundred and eighty-three years, six months, and odd days. This is all which Jos. Scaliger, or Jacobus Goar of late, could find concerning this Chaldean computation: and the first of these complains that none but Hesychius makes mention of this account. I shall therefore supply them not only with another author, but also with a diverse and distinct interpretation. *Σάτοι μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸς παρὰ Χαλδαίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ' σάτους πικύωνιν ἑκατὸν τρεῖς, οἱ γινώσκοντες μὴ ἑκατὸν καὶ μῆνας ἑξ.* That is, according to the translation of Portus, Sari apud Chaldaeos est mensura et numerus: nam 120 Sari faciunt annos 2222, qui sunt anni 18 et sex menses. Well might he fix his N, L. or, non liquet, to these words; for, as they are in the printed books, there is no sense to be made of them; but by the help of the MS. in the Vatican library we shall both supply the defect in Suidas, and find a third valuation of the *σάτοι*. Thus then that MS. represents the words: *Οἱ γὰρ ἐκ'*

theirs about forty thousand: except ye take the Egyptian years for months,* the Assyrians for days; and then the account will not seem so formidable.

Again, for the calculation of eclipses, as it may be made for many thousand years to come, and be exactly true, and yet the world may end to-morrow; because the calculation must be made with this tacit condition, if the bodies of the earth, and sun, and moon, do continue in their substance and constant motion so long: so may it also be made for many millions of years past, and all be true, if the world have been so old: which the calculating doth not prove, but suppose. He then who should in the Egyptian temples see the description of so many eclipses of the sun and moon, could not be assured that they were all taken from real observation, when they might be as well described out of prophetical supposition.

Besides, the motions of the sun, which they mention together, and with authority equal to that of their other observations, are so incredible and palpably fabulous, that they take off all credit and esteem from the rest of their narrations. For with this wild account of years, and seemingly accurate observations of the heavens, they left it written to posterity, that the whole course of the celestial motions were four times changed: so that † the sun hath twice risen in the east and set in the west, as it now does; and, on the contrary, twice risen in the west and set in the east. And thus these prodigious antiquaries confute themselves.‡

σάρκι ποιοῦσι ἑνιαυτοὺς βουβὲ κατὰ τὴν Χαλδαίων ψήφον, εἴπερ ὁ σάρος ποιεῖ μῆνας σιληναίων σαῖ, οἷοι γίνονται ἐν ἑνιαυτῷ καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. And so the sense is clear. Σάρος, according to the Chaldee account, comprehends two hundred and twenty-two months, which come to eighteen years and six months; therefore one hundred and twenty σάρκι make two thousand two hundred and twenty years; and therefore for βουβῆ, I read, leaving out the last β, βουῖ, that is, two thousand two hundred and twenty.

* Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ φασιν Εὐδόξος ἄλλοις, ὅτι Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν μῆνα ἑνιαυτὸν ἑκάλουν, οὐκ ἂν ἢ τῶν πολλῶν τοῦτων ἑνιαυτῶν ἀσφαρίσματος ἔχει τὴ Σαυμαστόν. Proclus in *Timæum* 51. 50.

† Ἐν τούτῳ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἑξαχον ἕξ ἡμέραι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατίλλαι· ἵδνα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἵδναυτα δὲ ἑπτατίλλαι καὶ ἵδνα

νῦν ἀνατίλλαι, ἵδναυτα δὲ καταδύεται. Herod. Euterp. Mandatumque literis servant, dum Ægyptii sunt, quater cursos suos vertiasse sidera, ac Solem bis jam occidisse ubi nunc oritur. *Mela*, l. i. c. 9. Whereas Aristotle more soberly, Ἐν ἀπαντί γὰρ παρατηροῦντι χρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν παραδεδομένην ἀλλήλους μῆμον οὐδὲν φαίνεται μεταβεβηκός, οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῶν οὐρανίων οὐδέν. *De Cælo*. l. i. v. *Simpl.*

‡ As the Chaldees did affirm that they had taken observations of the celestial motions for four hundred and seventy thousand years; and withal they also affirmed, that for the same space of time they had calculated the nativity of all the children who were born. Which last is certainly false. Nam quod aiunt quadringenta et septuaginta millia annorum in periclitandis experiundisque pueris qui-

What then are these feigned observations and fabulous descriptions for the world's antiquity, in respect not only of the infallible annals of the Spirit of God, but even of the constant testimonies of more sober men, and the real appearances and face of things, which speak them of a far shorter date?

If we look into the historians which give account of ancient times, nay, if we peruse the fictions of the poets, we shall find the first to have no footsteps, the last to feign no actions of so great antiquity. * If the race of men had been eternal, or as old as the Egyptians and the Chaldees fancy it, how should it come to pass that the poetical inventions should find no actions worthy their heroic verse before the Trojan or the Theban war, or that great adventure of the Argonauts? For whatsoever all the Muses, the daughters of memory, could rehearse before those times, is nothing but the creation of the world, and the nativity of their gods.

If we consider the necessities of life,† the ways of freedom and commerce amongst men, and the inventions of all arts and sciences, the letters which we use, and languages

cunque nati essent Babylonios posuisse: fallunt, Si enim esset factum, non esset desitum. Neminem autem habemus auctorem qui aut fieri dicat, aut factum sciat. Cicero l. ii. de Divinat. And if the last be false, we have no reason to believe the first is true; but rather to deny their astronomical observations by their vain ambition in astrological predictions. And indeed those observations of the Chaldees being curiously searched into by Callisthenes, appointed by Aristotle for that purpose, were found really to go no farther than one thousand nine hundred and three years before Alexander, as Por-

phyrius hath declared, who was no friend to the account of Moses. Διὰ τὸ μέγαν τὰς ἐπὶ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος περιφθόνους παρατηρήσεις ἀφίστασθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπιστήφαντος αὐτῷ ἄς τις ἀνγέλῃται ὁ Παρφύριος χιλίων ἑτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἑξακκοσίαν τριῶν μίχρη τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ Μακεδόνος συζομένης. Simplic. ad 2. Aristot. De Cælo, p. 123.

* This argument is therefore to me the stronger, because made by him who cannot be thought a favourer of our religion, because he was a countenancer of none, Epicurus, whose mind is thus delivered by Lucretius, l. v.

Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terrarum et Cœli, semperque æterna fuere:
Cur supra bellum Thebanum et funera Trojæ.
Non alias alii quoque res cœcinere Poetæ?
Quo tot facta virum toties cecidere? neque usquam
Æternis famæ monumentis insita florent?

† Pliny gives a large account of these, l. vii. c. 56. and Lucretius makes use of this argument, l. v.

Quare etiam quedam nunc artes expoliuntur,
Nunc etiam agescunt, nunc addita navigiis sunt
Multa, modo organici melicos peperere sonores:
Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta est
Nuper, et hanc primus cum primis ipse repertus
Nunc ego sum in patrias qui possim vertere voces.

which we speak, they have all known originals, and may be traced to their first authors. The first beginnings were then so known and acknowledged by all, that the inventors and authors of them were reckoned amongst their gods, and worshipped by those to whom they had been so highly beneficial: which honour and adoration they could not have obtained, but from such as were really sensible of their former want, and had experience of a present advantage by their means.

If we search into the nations themselves, we shall see none without some original: and were those *authors extant who have written of the first plantations and migrations of people, the foundations and inhabiting of cities and countries, the first rudiments would appear as evident as their latter growth and present condition. We know what ways within two thousand years people have made through vast and thick woods for their habitations, now as fertile, as populous as any. The Hercynian trees, in the time of the Cæsars, occupying so great a space as to take up a journey of sixty days,† were thought even then coeval with the world.‡ We read without any show of contradiction, how this western part of the world hath been peopled from the east: and all the pretence of the Babylonian antiquity is nothing else, but that we all came from thence. Those eight persons saved in the ark, descending from the Gordian mountains, and multiplying to a large collection in the plain of Sinaar, made their first division at that place; and that dispersion, or rather dissemination, hath peopled all other parts of the world, either never before inhabited, or dispeopled by the flood.

These arguments have always seemed so clear and undeniable, that they have put not only those who make the world eternal, but them also who confess it made (but far more ancient than we believe it), to a strange answer, to themselves uncertain, to us irrational.

* I mean, not only such as wrote the building of particular cities, as Apollonius Rhodius *καὶνὸν κτίσιν*, Xenophanes *Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν*, Crito *Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν*, and Philochorus *Σαλαμῖνος κτίσιν* but those more general, as Aristotle *κτίσεις καὶ πολιτείας*, Polemo *κτίσεις πόλεων ἐν Φακίδι*, Charon *πόλεων κτίσεις*, Callimachus *κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων*, Hellaniens *κτίσεις ἰσθμῶν καὶ πόλεων*, and the indefinite

κτίσεις written by Dercyllus, Dionysius, Hippias, Clitophon, Trismachus, and others.

† Sylvarum, Hercynia dierum sexaginta iter occupans, ut major aliis, ita et notior. *Meta* l. iii. c. 3.

‡ Hercyniæ sylvæ roborum vastitas intacta ævis et congenita mundo, prope immortalis sorte miracula excedit. *Plin.* l. xvi. c. 2.

For to this they replied, that this world* hath suffered many alterations, by the utter destructions of nations and depopulations of countries, by which all monuments of antiquity were defaced, all arts and sciences utterly lost, all fair and stately fabrics ruined, and so mankind reduced to paucity, and the world often again returned into its infancy. This they conceived to have been done oftentimes in several ages, sometimes by a deluge of water, sometimes by a torrent of fire; and, lest any of the elements might be thought not to conspire to the destruction of mankind, the air must sweep away whole empires at once with infectious plagues, and earthquakes swallow up all ancient cities, and bury even the very ruins of them. By which answer of theirs they plainly afford two great advantages to the Christian faith. First, Because they manifestly shew that they had an universal tradition of Noah's flood, and the overthrow of the old world: Secondly, Because it was evident to them, that there was no way to save the eternity or antiquity of the world, or to answer this argument drawn from history and

* Thus Ocellus, who maintained the world was never made, answers the argument brought from the Greek histories which began with Inachus, as the first subject, not author of history, (as Negerola in his Annotations mistakes Ocellus) Διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου εἶναι τοῦ Ἀργίου, προσεκτίον οὕτως, οὐχ ὡς ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς πρώτης, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενομένης μεταβολῆς κατ' αὐτήν. So that he will have Inachus to be the first not absolutely, but since the last great alteration made in Greece; and then he concludes that Greece hath often been, and will often be, barbarous, and lose the memory of all their actions, Πολύλαος γὰρ καὶ γίγνεται καὶ ἔσται βάρβαρος ἡ Ἑλλάς, οὐχ ἢ ἀνθρώπων μόνον γινομένη μεταστάτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως οὐ μείζονος οὐδὲ μείονος αὐτῆς γινομένης, ἀλλὰ γὰρ νωτῆρας αἰὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης: Ocellus de Universo, c. 3. Thus Plato, who asserted the creation of the world, but either from eternity, or such antiquity as does not much differ from it, brings in Solon inquiring the age of the

Greek histories, as of Phoroneus, and Niobe, Deucalion and Pyrrha; and an Egyptian priest answering, that all the Greeks were boys, and not an old man amongst them, that is, they had no ancient monuments, or history of any antiquity, but rested contented with the knowledge of the time since the last great mutation of their own country, Πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γεγνησιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔσονται, περὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μίγνεται, μυρία δὲ ἄλλοις ἔσται βραχυτέρας. In Timæo. Origin of Celsus. Τὸ πολλὰ; ἐν παντὶ αἰῶνος πυρώσεις γεγενῆσιν, πολλὰς δ' ἱπικλύσεις, καὶ νωτότερον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν ἢ γαργῶς γεγεννημένον σαφῶς τοῖς ἀνοίειν αὐτοῦ δυναμένους παρόντων τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἀντίστοιχον, l. 1. And Lucretius the Epicurean, who thought the world but few thousand years old, as we believe, and that it should at last be consumed, as we also are persuaded, thinks this answer of theirs so far from being a refutation of the former, that he admits it as a confirmation of the latter part of his opinion, *De rerum natura*, l. v.

Quod si forte fuisset antehac eadem omnia credis,
Sed peritisse hominum torrenti secla vapore,
Aut cecidisse urbes magno vexamine mundi,
Aut ex imbribus assiduâ exisse rapaces
Per terras, amnes atque oppida cooperuisse:
Tanto quippe magis victus fateare necesse est,
Exitium quoque terrarum coelique futurum.

the appearances of things themselves, but by supposing innumerable deluges and deflagrations. Which being merely feigned in themselves, not proved (and that first* by them who, say they, are not subject themselves unto them, as the Egyptians did, who by the advantage† of their peculiar situation feared neither perishing by fire nor water), serve only for a confirmation of Noah's flood so many ages past, and the surer expectation of St. Peter's fire, we know not how soon to come.

It remaineth then that we steadfastly believe, not only that the "heavens and earth, and all the host of them" were made, and so acknowledge a creation, or an actual and immediate dependence of all things on God; but also that all things were created by the hand of God, in the same manner, and at the same time, which are delivered unto us in the books of Moses by the Spirit of God, and so acknowledge a novelty, or no long existence of the creature.

Neither will the novelty of the world appear more plainly unto our conceptions, than if we look upon our own successions. The vulgar accounts, which exhibit about five thousand six hundred years, though sufficiently refuting an eternity, and allaying all conceits of any great antiquity, are not yet so properly and nearly operative on the thoughts of men, as a reflection upon our own generations. The first of men was but six days younger than the being, not so many than the appearance, of the earth: and if any particular person would consider how many degrees in a direct line he probably is removed from that single person Adam, who bare together the name of man and of the earth from whence he came, he

* *Ἐστρωσαν δὲ τῷ Κέλῳ τοῦ παρὶ τῶν ἐκ-
κυρώσεων καὶ ἔξυδατώσεων μύθου διδάσκαλοι
οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίστατοι Αἰγύπτῳ. Orig.
adv. Celsum, l. i.*

† So that Egyptian priest in Plato's Timæus tells Solon that the fable of Phaëton did signify a real conflagration of the world; but so as all they which lived in mountains or dry parts of the earth were scorched and consumed, but of those who lived near the seas or rivers in the valleys, some were preserved: *ἡμῶν δὲ*, saith he, *ὁ Νεῖλος εἰς τι τᾶλλα σωτὴς, καὶ τότε ἐκ τούτου τῆς ἀπορίας σώζου λυόμενος.* Thus the Egyptians pretend Nilus saved them from the flames of Phaëton. Nor were they only safe from conflagrations, but from inundations also. For when in Greece or other

parts a deluge happened, then all their cities were swept away into the sea; *Κατὰ δὲ τίνος τὴν χώραν*, says the priest, *οὔτε τότε, οὔτε ἄλλοτε ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρούρας ὕδωρ ἐκωρρεῖ· τὸ δ' ἵναρρίον κάτωθεν ἱκανῶς σίφουται· ὅθεν καὶ δι' ἧς αἰτίας τὰνθάδε σωζόμενα λέγεται παλαιότερα.* So Egypt receiving not their waters from above by clouds, but from below by springs filling the river Nile, was out of danger in a deluge, and thereby preserved the most ancient monuments and records. But, alas! this is a poor shift to them who believe that in the great and universal flood, all "the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened," Gen. vii. 11.

could not choose but think himself so near the original fountain of mankind, as not to conceive any great antiquity of the world. For though the ancient heathens did imagine innumerable* ages and generations of men past, though Origen† did fondly seem to collect so much by some misinterpretations of the Scriptures; yet if we take a sober view, and make but rational collections from the chronology of the Sacred Writ, we shall find no man's pedigree very exorbitant, or in his line of generation descent of many score.

When the age of man was long, in the infancy of the world, we find ten generations extend to one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, according to the shortest, which is thought, because the Hebrew, therefore the best account; according to the longest, which, because the Septuagint's, is not to be contemned, two thousand two hundred and sixty-two, or rather two thousand two hundred and fifty-six. From the flood brought at that time upon the earth for the sins of men which polluted it, upon the birth of Abraham, the father of the faithful, not above ten generations, if so many, took up two hundred and ninety-two years according to the least, one thousand one hundred and thirty-two according to the largest account. Since which time the ages of men have been very much alike proportionably long; and it is agreed by all that there have not passed since the birth of Abraham three thousand seven hundred years. Now by the experience of our families, which for their honour and greatness have been preserved, by the genealogies delivered in the Sacred Scriptures, and thought necessary to be presented to us by the blessed evangelists, by the observation and concurrent judgment of former ages, three generations‡ usually

* So Cicero indeed speaks, innumera-bilia sæcula, in his book of Divination: and Socrates in Plato's Theætetus brings this argument against the pride of great and noble families, that they who mention a succession of their ancestors who have been rich and powerful, do it merely *ὅτι ἀπαιδευσίας, οὐ δυναμένους εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ἑλπίων, οὐδὲ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι πάντων καὶ περιγόνων μυριάδες ἑκάστον γενέσθαι ἀναριθμητοί, ἐν αἷς πλούσιοι καὶ πτωχοί, καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δοῦλοι, βαρβαροὶ τε καὶ Ἕλληνες πολλὰς μυρίαι γενέσθαι ἐταῶν* as if every person were equally honourable, having innumerable ancestors, rich and poor, servants and kings, learned and barbarous.

† Origen did not only collect the eter-

nity of the world from the coexistence of all God's attributes, as because he is *παντοκράτωρ* and *δημιουργός*, therefore he was always so, for how could he be *δημιουργός* ἀπὸ δημιουργημάτων, or *παντοκράτωρ* ἀπὸ τῶν κρατουμένων; but also from the ninetyeth Psalm, "From everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday;" and that at the beginning of Ecclesiasticians, "Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of the rain, and the days of eternity?" But Methodius, bishop and martyr, hath well concluded that disputation: *ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Ὁριγῆνης σπουδάζον, καὶ ἔρα ὡς παλῆς.*

‡ By the Greeks called *γυναί*, which are

take up a hundred years. If then it be not yet three thousand seven hundred years since the birth of Abraham, as certainly it is not: if all men who are or have been since have descended from Noah, as undoubtedly they have; if Abraham were but the tenth from Noah, as Noah from Adam, which Moses hath assured us; then it is not probable that any person now alive is above one hundred and thirty generations removed from Adam. And indeed thus admitting but the Greek account of less than five thousand years since the flood, we may easily bring all sober or probable accounts of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chinese, to begin since the dispersion at Babel. Thus having expressed at last the time so far as it is necessary to be known, I shall conclude this second consideration of the nature and notion of creation.

Now being under the terms of *heaven and earth*, we have proved all things beside God to be contained, and that the making of all these things was a clear production of them out of nothing; the third part of the explication must of necessity follow, that he which made all things is God. This truth is so evident in itself, and so confessed by all men, that none did ever assert the world was made, but withal affirmed that it was God who made it. There remaineth therefore nothing more in this particular, than to assert God so the creator of the world as he is described in this article.

Being then we believe in God the Father, maker of heaven and earth, and by that God we expressed already a singularity of the Deity; our first assertion which we must make good is, That the one God did create the world. Again, being who-soever is that God, cannot be excluded from this act of cre-

successions of generations from father to son: as in St. Matt. i. 17. Indeed sometimes they take it for other spaces of time: as Artemidorus observes, for seven years. Κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν μὲν ἴτη ζ'. ἔθεν καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ λατρικοὶ, τῶν δύο γενιῶν (not πρὸ τῶν, as Wolfius and Portus would correct it) μὴδὲν (not μὴ δύν, as Suidas) φλιβετομὲν, τὸν τισσαρισκαδικέτη (not τισσαρισκαδικαίον, as Suidas transcribing him negligently) λέγουσιν. Sometimes they interpret it twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years, as appears by Hesychius. And by that last account they reckoned the years of Nestor, Κατ' ἑνιαυτὸν δὲ λ'. ἔθεν καὶ τὸν Νίστορα βούλονται εἰς ἑνὴν ἑκατὸν ἴτη γενεῶναι. So Artemidorus and the Grammarians. Although I cannot imagine that to be the sense of Homer. D. 4.

Τῷ δ' ἔδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων ἑφθλάθ', οἳ οὐ πρόθεν ἄμα τέλειον ἦδ' ἰγόνοντο.

And I conceive that gloss in Hesychius, Ἐπὶ διαστήματος χρόνου τῶν μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ βεβηκότων, to be far more properly applicable to that place. But, in the sense of which we now speak, it is taken for the third part ordinarily of a hundred years; as Herodotus, mentioning the Egyptians' feigned genealogies; Καὶ τοὶ τριπλῆσαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ διήκουν μύρια ἑξήκοντα, three hundred generations equalize ten thousand years, γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἰστέ ἔστι. And after him Clemens Alex. Strom. l. ii. Εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν ἴτη τρεῖς καταλήγονται γενεαί.

ation, as being an emanation of the Divinity, and we seem by these words to appropriate it to the Father, beside whom we shall hereafter shew that we believe some other persons to be the same God; it will be likewise necessary to declare the reason why the creation of the world is thus signally attributed to God the Father.

The first of these deserves no explication of itself, it is so obvious to all who have any true conception of God. But because it hath been formerly denied (as there is nothing so senseless but some kind of heretics have embraced, and may be yet taken up in times of which we have no reason to presume better than of the former), I shall briefly declare the creation of the world to have been performed by that one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

As for the first, there is no such difference between things of the world, as to infer a diversity of makers of them, nor is the least or worst of creatures in their original, any way derogatory to the Creator. "God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good," (Gen. i. 31.) and consequently likely to come from the Fountain of all goodness, and fit always to be ascribed to the same. Whatsoever is evil, is not so by the Creator's action, but by the creature's defection.

In vain then did the heretics of old, to remove a seeming inconvenience, remove a certain truth; and while they feared to make their own god evil,* they made him partial, or but half the Deity, and so a companion at least with an evil god. For dividing all things of this world into nature substantially evil, and substantially good, and apprehending a necessity of an origination conformable to so different a condition, they imagined one God essentially good, as the first principle of the one, another god essentially evil, as the original of the other. And this strange heresy began upon the first spreading† of

* Inde Manichæus, ut Deum a conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit autorem. S. Hier. in Nahum. c. 3.

† For we must not look upon Manes as the first author of the heresy, though they who followed him were called from him Manichæus. Nor must we be satisfied with the relation of Socrates, who allots the beginning of that heresy *μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν Κωνσταντίνου χρόνων*, a little before Constantine, being, Epiphanius asserts, the first author of it, *στέλλειν δὲ τὴν*

πορείαν ἐν τῷ ἱεροσόλυνῳ περὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀποστόλων, to have gone to Jerusalem even about the apostles' times. Manes then, formerly called Cnricus, (not Urbicus, as St. Aug.) who disseminated this heresy in the days of Aurelianus or Probus the emperor, about the year 277, had a predecessor, though not a master, called first Teberinthus, after Buddas. For this Buddas left his books and estate to a widow, who, saith Epiphanius, *ἔλαβε πολλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ οὕτως*, continued with his estate and books a long time, and at last

the gospel; as if the greatest light could not appear without a shadow.

Whereas there is no nature originally sinful, no substance in itself evil, and therefore no being which may not come from the same fountain of goodness. "I form the light, and

bought Cubricus for her servant. This Buddas had a former master called Scythianus, the first author of this heresy. Beside these, between Scythianus and Cubricus there was yet another teacher of the doctrine, called Zaranus. *Ἦν δὲ πρὸ τούτου (Μάνης) καὶ Ἰππὶτος τῆς καλίας διδασκαλίας ταύτης, ζωὴν δὲ ἰσχυρὰν, ὁμολογῶν αὐτοῦ ἰσχύον.* If then we insert this Zaranus into the Manichean pedigree, and consider the time of the widow between Buddas and Cubricus, and the age of Cubricus, who was then but seven years old, as Socrates testifies, when she resolved to buy him, and discover the heresy to him; there will be no reason to doubt of the relation of Epiphanius, that Scythianus began about the apostolical times. Nor need we any of the abatements in the animadversions of Petavius, much less that redargution of Epiphanius, who cites Origen as an assertor of the Christian faith against this heresy; for though he certainly died before Manes spread his doctrine, yet it was written in several books before him, not only in the time of Buddas, to whom Socrates and Suidas attribute them, but of Scythianus, whom S. Cyril and Epiphanius make the author of them. Neither can it be objected that they were not Manicheans before the appearance of Manes; for I conceive the name of Manes (thought by the Greeks to be a name taken up by Cubricus, and proper to him) not to be any proper or peculiar name at all, but the general title of heretic in the Syriac tongue. For I am loath to think that Theodoret and the author in Suidas were so far mistaken, when they call Scythianus Manes, as to conceive Cubricus and he were the same person: when we may with much better reason conclude that both Scythianus and Cubricus had the same title. For I conceive Manes at first rather a title than a name, from the Hebrew מן or מנן signifying a heretic. And although some of the Rabbins derive their מן from Manes, yet others make it more ancient than he was, referring it to Tsadock and Bajethos, called מןן המנין the first or chief heretics, who lived one hundred years before Christ. Wherefore it is far more rational to assert, that he who began the heresy of

the Manichees was called מן as a heretic in the oriental tongues, and from thence Μάνης by the Greeks (to comply with *μανία* or madness in their language), than that Μάνης was first the name of a man counted a heretic by the Christians; and then made the general name for all heretics, and particularly for the Christians by the Jews. Which being granted, both Scythianus and Cubricus might well at first have the name of Manes, that is, heretic. However, the antiquity of that heresy will appear in the Marcionites, who differed not in this particular from the Manichees. *Duos Ponticus Deos affert tanquam duas Symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum; et quem probare non potuit, id est, suum.* Passus infelix hujus presumptionis instinctum de simplici capitulo Dominicæ pronunciationis, in homines non in Deos disipientis exempla illa bonæ et malæ arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus. *Tertul. l. i. c. 2.* This Marcion lived in the days of Antoninus Pius, and as Eusebius testifieth, Justin Martyr wrote against him. *Hist. l. iv. c. 11.* Irenæus relates how he spake with Polycarpus bishop of Smyrna, who was taught by the apostles, and conversed with divers who saw our Saviour, *l. iii. c. 3.* Neither was Marcion the first who taught it at Rome, for he received it from Cerdon. *Habuit et Cerdonem quendam informatorem scandali hujus, quo facilius duos Deos cæci existimaverunt.* This Cerdon succeeded Heracleon, and so at last this heresy may be reduced to the Gnostics, who derived it from the old gentile philosophers, and might well be embraced by Manes in Persia, because it was the doctrine of the Persian Magi, as Aristotle testifieth, *Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους (τοὺς Μάνους) εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ διὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχαίς, ἀγαθὴν δαιμόνα καὶ κακὴν δαίμονα. Laert. in proximo.* And this derivation is well observed by Timotheus, presbyter of Constantinople, speaking thus of Manes: *Παρὰ δὲ Μανιχαῖος καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου αἰσχροποιῶν καὶ δυσσεβῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Περσίδα μάγους ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν δογματίξαι διὰ ἀρχαίς.*

create darkness ; I make peace, and create evil ; I the Lord do all these things," saith he who also said, " I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no god besides me." (Isa. xlv. 7. 5.) Vain then is that conceit which framed two gods, one of them called Light, the other Darkness ; one good, the other evil ; refuted in the first words of the CREED, *I believe in God, maker of heaven and earth.*

But as we have already proved that one God to be the Father, so must we yet farther shew that one God the Father to be the maker of the world. In which there is no difficulty at all : the whole church at Jerusalem hath sufficiently declared this truth in their devotions, " Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is : against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together." Jesus then was the child of that God which made the heaven and the earth, and consequently the Father of Christ is the Creator of the world.

We know that Christ is the light of the gentiles by his own interpretation ; we are assured likewise that his Father gave him, by his frequent assertion : we may then as certainly conclude that the Father of Christ is the Creator of the world, by the prophet's express prediction : " For thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens and stretched them out, he which spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it ; I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the gentiles." (Isai. xlii. 5, 6.)

And now this great facility may seem to create the greater difficulty : for being the apostles teach us, that the Son made all things, and the prophets that by the Spirit they were produced, how can we attribute that peculiarly in the Creed unto the Father, which in the Scriptures is assigned indifferently to the Son and to the Spirit ? Two reasons may particularly be rendered of this peculiar attributing the work of the creation to the Father. First, in respect of those heresies arising in the infancy of the church, which endeavoured to destroy this truth, and to introduce another creator of the world, distinguished from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ : an error so destructive to the Christian reli-

gion, that it razeth even the foundations of the gospel, which refers itself wholly to the promises in the law, and pretends to no other god, but that God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; acknowledgeth no other speaker by the Son than him that spake by the prophets; and therefore whom Moses and the prophets call Lord of heaven and earth, of him our blessed Saviour signifies himself to be the Son, rejoicing in spirit, and saying, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth." (Luke x. 21.) Secondly, in respect of the paternal priority in the Deity, by reason whereof that which is common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may be rather attributed to the Father, as the first person in the Trinity. In which respect the apostle hath made a distinction in the phrase of emanation or production: "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him," (1 Cor. viii. 6.) And our Saviour hath acknowledged, "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do," which speaketh some kind of priority in action, according to that of the person. And in this sense the church did always profess to believe in God the Father, creator of heaven and earth.*

The great necessity of professing our faith in this particular, appeareth several ways, as indispensably tending to the illustration of God's glory, the humiliation of mankind, the provocation to obedience, the aversion from iniquity, and all consolation in our duty.

God is of himself infinitely glorious, because his perfections are absolute, his excellences indefective, and the splendour of this glory appeareth unto us in and through the works of his hands. "The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." (Rom. i. 20.) For "He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion." (Jer. x. 12. li. 15.) After a long enumeration of the wonderful works of the creation, the Psalmist breaketh forth into this pious me-

* Stabat fides semper in Creatore et ecclesias editur. Nullam autem apostolo ejus. *Tertul. adv. Marcion.* l. i. lici census ecclesiam invenias quæ non in Non alia agnoscenda erit traditio apostolorum, quam quæ hodie apud ipsorum Creatore Christianizet. *Ib.*

ditation, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all." (Psal. civ. 24.) If then the glory of God be made apparent by the creation, if he have "made all things for himself," (Prov. xvi. 4.) that is, for the manifestation of his glorious attributes, if the "Lord rejoiceth in his works," because "his glory shall endure for ever," (Psal. civ. 31.) then is it absolutely necessary we should confess him *Maker of heaven and earth*, that we may sufficiently praise and glorify him. "Let them praise the name of the Lord," saith David, "for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the earth and heaven." (Psal. cxlviii. 13.) Thus did the Levites teach the children of Israel to glorify God: "Stand up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou, even thou, art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their hosts, the earth, and all things that are therein." (Neh. ix. 5, 6.) And the same hath St. Paul taught us: "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things, to whom be glory for ever. Amen." (Rom. xi. 36.) Furthermore, that we may be assured that he which made both heaven and earth will be glorified in both, the prophet calls upon all those celestial hosts to bear their part in his hymn: "Praise ye him all his angels, praise ye him all his hosts. Praise ye him sun and moon, praise him all ye stars of light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded, and they were created." (Psal. cxlviii. 2—5.) And the twenty-four elders in the Revelation of St. John, "Fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns," the emblems of their borrowed and derived glories, "before the throne," the seat of infinite and eternal majesty, "saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." (Rev. iv. 10, 11.) Wherefore, "if the heavens declare the glory of God," and "all his works praise him," (Psal. xix. 1.) then "shall his saints bless him, they shall speak of the glory of his kingdom, and talk of his power." (Psal. cxlv. 10, 11.) And if man be silent, God will speak; while we through ingratitude will not celebrate, he himself will declare it, and promulgate.

"I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and by my out-stretched arm." (Jer. xxvii. 5.)

Secondly, The doctrine of the world's creation is most properly effectual towards man's humiliation. As there is nothing more destructive to humanity than pride, and yet not any thing to which we are more prone than that; so nothing can be more properly applied to abate the swelling of our proud conceptions, than a due consideration of the other works of God, with a sober reflection upon our own original. "When I considered the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained;" (Psal. viii. 3.) when I view those glorious apparent bodies with my eye, and by the advantage of a glass find great numbers, before beyond the power of my sight, and from thence judge there may be many millions more which neither eye nor instrument can reach; when I contemplate those far more glorious spirits, the inhabitants of the heavens, and attendants on thy throne, I cannot but break forth into that admiration of the prophet, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him?" What is that offspring of the earth, that dust and ashes? "What is that son of man, that thou visitest him?" What is there in the progeny of an ejected and condemned father, that thou shouldst look down from heaven, the place of thy dwelling, and take care or notice of him? But if our original ought so far to humble us, how should our fall abase us? That of all the creatures which God made, we should comply with him who first opposed his Maker, and would be equal unto him from whom he new received his being. All other works of God, which we think inferior to us, because not furnished with the light of understanding, or endued with the power of election, are in a happy impossibility of sinning, and so offending of their Maker: the glorious spirits which attend upon the throne of God, once in a condition of themselves to fall, now by the grace of God preserved, and placed beyond all possibility of sinning, are entered upon the greatest happiness, of which the workmanship of God is capable: but men, the sons of fallen Adam, and sinners after the similitude of him, of all the creatures are the only companions of those "angels which left their own habitations," (Jude ver. 6.) and are "delivered into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judg-

ment." (2 Pet. ii. 4.) How should a serious apprehension of our own corruption, mingled with the thoughts of our creation, humble us in the sight of him, whom we alone of all the creatures by our unrepented sins drew unto repentance? How can we look without confusion of face upon that monument of our infamy, recorded by Moses, who first penned the original of humanity, "It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart!" (Gen. vi. 6.)

Thirdly, This doctrine is properly efficacious and productive of most cheerful and universal obedience. It made the prophet call for the commandments of God, and earnestly desire to know what he should obey. "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me: give me understanding that I may learn thy commandments." (Psal. cxix. 73.) By virtue of our first production, God hath undeniably absolute dominion over us, and consequently there must be due unto him the most exact and complete obedience from us. Which reason will appear more convincing, if we consider of all the creatures which have been derived from the same fountain of God's goodness; none ever disobeyed his voice but the devil and man. "Mine hand," saith he, "hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens; when I call unto them they stand up together." (Isa. xlviii. 13.) The most loyal and obedient servants which stand continually before the most illustrious prince are not so ready to receive and execute the commands of their sovereign lord, as all the hosts of heaven and earth to attend upon the will of their Creator. "Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their hosts by number: he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, not one faileth," (Isa. xl. 26.) but, every one maketh his appearance, ready pressed to observe the designs of their commander-in-chief. Thus the Lord commanded and "they fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." (Judg. v. 20.) He "commanded the ravens to feed Elias, and they brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening;" (1 Kings xvii. 4. 6.) and so one prophet lived merely upon the obedience of the fowls of the air. He spake to the devouring whale, "and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land;" (Jonah ii. 10.)

and so another prophet was delivered from the jaws of death by the obedience of the fishes of the sea. Do we not read of "fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind, fulfilling his word?" (Psal. cxlviii. 8.) Shall there be a greater coldness in man than in the snow? More vanity in us than in a vapour? More inconstancy than in the wind? If the universal obedience of the creature to the will of the Creator cannot move us to the same affection and desire to serve and please him, they will all conspire to testify against us and condemn us, when God shall call unto them, saying, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." (Isa. i. 2.)

Lastly, The creation of the world is of most necessary meditation for the consolation of the servants of God in all the variety of their conditions, "Happy is he whose hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that therein is." (Psal. cxlvi. 5, 6.) This happiness consisteth partly in a full assurance of his power to secure us, his ability to satisfy us. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods." (Psal. xxiv. 1, 2.) By virtue of the first production he hath a perpetual right unto, and power to dispose of, all things: and he who can order and dispose of all, must necessarily be esteemed able to secure and satisfy any creature. "Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?" (Isa. xl. 28.) There is no external resistance or opposition where omnipotency worketh, no internal weakness or defection of power where the Almighty is the agent; and consequently there remaineth a full and firm persuasion of his ability in all conditions to preserve us. Again, this happiness consisteth partly in a comfortable assurance, arising from this meditation, of the will of God to protect and succour us, of his desire to preserve and bless us. "My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth: he will not suffer thy foot to be moved," (Psal. cxxi. 2, 3.) saith the prophet David; at once expressing the foundation of his own expectancy and our security. "God will not despise the work of his hands," (Job. x. iii.) neither will he suffer the rest of his creatures to

do the least injury to his own image. "Behold, (saith he) I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord." (Isa. liv. 16, 17.)

Wherefore to conclude our explication of the first article, and to render a clear account of the last part thereof; that every one may understand what it is I intend, when I make confession of my faith in the *Maker of heaven and earth*, I do truly profess, that I really believe, and am fully persuaded, that both heaven and earth and all things contained in them have not their being of themselves, but were made in the beginning; that the manner by which all things were made was by mediate or immediate creation; so that antecedently to all things beside, there was at first nothing but God, who produced most part of the world merely out of nothing, and the rest out of that which was formerly made of nothing. This I believe was done by the most free and voluntary act of the will of God, of which no reason can be alleged, no motive assigned, but his goodness; performed by the determination of his will at that time which pleased him, most probably within one hundred and thirty generations of men, most certainly within not more than six, or at farthest seven, thousand years. I acknowledge this God, creator of the world, to be the same God who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and in this full latitude, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.*

ARTICLE II.

And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.

THE second Article of the CREED presents unto us, as the object of our faith, the second person of the blessed Trinity; that as in the Divinity there is nothing intervening between the Father and the Son, so that immediate union might be perpetually expressed by a constant conjunction in our Christian confession. And that upon no less authority than of "the Author and Finisher of our faith," who in the

persons of the apostles gave this command to us, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." (John xiv. 1.) Nor speaketh he this of himself, but from the Father who sent him: for "this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ." (1 John iii. 23.) According therefore to the Son's prescription, the Father's injunction, and the sacramental institution, as we are baptized, so do we * believe in the name of the Father, and the Son.

Our blessed Saviour is here represented under a threefold description: first, by his nomination, as *Jesus Christ*; secondly, by his generation, as the *only Son* of God; thirdly, by his dominion, as *our Lord*.

But when I refer Jesus Christ to the nomination of our Saviour, because he is in the Scriptures promiscuously and indifferently sometimes called *Jesus*, sometimes *Christ*, I would be understood so as not to make each of them equally, or in like propriety, his name. "His name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb:" (Luke ii. 21.) "who is also called Christ," (Mat. i. 16.) not by † name, but by office and title. Which observation, seemingly trivial, is necessary for the full explication of this part of the Article; for by this distinction we are led unto a double notion, and so resolve our faith into these two propositions, I believe there was and is a man, whose name was actually, and is truly in the most high importance, Jesus, the Saviour of the world. I believe the man who bare that name to be the Christ, that is, the Messiah promised of old by God, and expected by the Jews.

For the first, it is undoubtedly the proper name of our Saviour given unto him, according to the custom of the Jews, at his circumcision: and as the Baptist was called

* Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post Patrem etiam in Filium Dei, Christum Jesum, Dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei Filium; hujus Dei qui et unus et solus est, conditor scilicet rerum omnium. *Novat. de Trinit.* c. 9.

† Si tamen nomen est Christus, et non appellatio potius; unctus enim significatur. Unctus autem non magis nomen est quam vestitus, quam calceatus, accidens nomini res. *Tertul. adv. Prax.* c. 28. Quorum nomen alterum est proprium, quod ab Angelo impositum est; alterum

accidens, quod ab unctione convenit. *Ib.* Christus commune dignitatis est nomen, Jesus proprium vocabulum Salvatoris. *St. Hieron. in Matt.* xvi. 20. Jesus inter homines nominatur; nam Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis et regni. *Lactan. de Falsa Sap.* l. iv. c. 7. Dum dicitur Christus, commune nomen dignitatis est; dum Jesus Christus, proprium vocabulum Salvatoris est. *Isidor. Orig.* l. vii. c. 2. Ἰησοῦς καλεῖται σωτήρ. *St. Cyril. Catech.* 10.

John, even so the Christ was called Jesus. Beside, as the imposition was after the vulgar manner, so was the name itself of ordinary use. We read in the Scriptures of "Jesus which was called Justus," a fellow-worker with St. Paul; (Col. iv. 11.) and of a "certain sorcerer, a Jew, whose name was * Barjesus," (Acts xiii. 6.) that is, the son of Jesus. Josephus, in his History, mentioneth one Jesus the son of Ananus, another the son of Saphates, a third the son of Judas, slain in the temple: and many of the high priests, or priests, were called by that name; as the son of Damnæus, of Gamaliel, of Onias, of Phabes, and of Thebuth. Ecclesiasticus is called the wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, and that Sirach the son of another Jesus. St. Stephen speaks of the "tabernacle of witnesses brought in with Jesus into the possession of the gentiles;" (Acts vii. 45.) and the Apostle in his explication of those words of David, "To-day if you will hear his voice," observeth that, "if Jesus had given them rest, then would he not afterwards have spoken of another day." (Heb. iv. 8.) Which two scriptures being undoubtedly understood of Joshua, the son of Nun, teach us as infallibly that Jesus is the same name with Joshua. Which being at the first † imposition in the full extent of pronunciation Jehoshuah, in process of time contracted to Jeshuah, by the omission of the last letter (strange and difficult to other languages), and the addition of the Greek termination became *Jesus*.

Wherefore it will be necessary, for the proper interpretation of Jesus, to look back upon the first that bare that name, who was the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, the successor of Moses, and so named by him, as it is written, "and Moses called Oshea, the son of Nun, Jehoshuah." (Numb. xiii. 16.) His first name, then, imposed at his circumcision, was Osheah, or Hoseah; the same with the name of the "son of Azaziah, ruler of Ephraim;" (1 Chron. xxvii.

* *Habuit et Judæa quosdam Jesus, quorum vacuis gloriatur vocabulis. Illa enim nec lucent, nec pascunt, nec mendentur.* Bernard. in Cant. Ser. xv.

† First יְהוֹשֻׁעַ was generally in the books of Moses, in Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Kings, yea even in Haggai and Zechariah: then contracted into יְשׁוּעָה, as in the 1 Chron. xxiv. 11. 2 Chron. xxxi. 15. and constantly in Ezra and Nehemiah. Next the last letter י was but lightly pronounced,

ed, as appears by the Greek translation, 1 Chron. vii. 27. where יְהוֹשֻׁעַ is rendered in the Roman and Alexandrian copy *Ἰεσού*, in the Aldus and Complutensian editions *Ἰωάν*, and by Eusebius, who expresseth it truer than those copies, *Ἰεσού*. At last י was totally left out both in the pronunciation and the writing, and the whole name of Joshua contracted to *ישׁ*.

20.) of the "son of Elah, king of Israel," (2 Kings xvii. 1.) of the "son of Beerī, the prophet:" (Hos. i. 1.) and the interpretation of this first name Hoseah * is Saviour. Now we must not imagine this to be † no mutation, neither must we look upon it as a ‡ total alteration, but observe it as a change not trivial or § inconsiderable. And being Hoseah was a name afterwards used by some, and Jehoshuah, as distinct, by others, it will necessarily follow, there was some difference between these two names; and it will be fit to inquire what was the addition, and in what the force of the alteration doth consist.

First, therefore, we observe that all the original letters in

* *Osee* in lingua nostra Salvatorem sonat, quod nomen habuit etiam Josue filius Nun, antequam ei a Deo vocabulum mutaretur. *St. Hier. in Osee*, c. 1. v. 1. et l. i. *ad Jovinianum*. I read indeed of other interpretations among the Greeks, no good expositors of the Hebrew names: as in an ancient MS. of the LXX. Translation of the Prophets, now in the library of Cardinal Barberini, at the beginning of Hoseah. Ὡση, λυτουμενος. and again, Ὡση, σωωμενος, ἢ σωσιάζων. (Of which the first and last are far from the original: and the middle agreeable with the root, not with the conjugation, as being deduced from וָשָׁא not in Niphal, but in Hiphil.) And in another MS. of the Prophets in the King's Library at St. James's, Ὡση σιαζων, ἢ φολιζ· and again, ὥση, ἱερμ· σωόμενος, which is the interpretation inserted into Hesychius; in whom for Ὡση we must read Ὡση· and so I suppose Salmasius intended it, though the Holland edition hath made his emendation Ὡση.

† As the Samaritan Pentateuch makes it the same name, which he was first named, and which he had afterwards; as if Moses had only called *Oseea*, *Oseea*.

‡ So Justin Martyr speaks of Hosea as μετανομασθῆντος τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι. And comparing it with that alteration of Jacob's name: τὸ ἰσραήλ ἰσραὴλ ἐκκληθῆναι ἰδῆναι, καὶ τῷ Αἰσῇ ὀνομα Ἰησοῦς ἐκκληθῆναι· where, to pass by his mistake in supposing him first named Israel, and after called Jacob, he makes the alteration of Hoseah to Joshua equal to that of Jacob to Israel. The reason whereof was the Greek version of the name, who for Hoseah translated it Αἰσῇ· ἰσραήλ· Μωσῆς τὸν Αἰσῇ υἱὸν Ναυῆ, Ἰησοῦ. Numb. xiii. 16. Dum Moysi successor destinaretur Auses filius Nave, transfertur certē de

pristino nomine, et incipit vocari Jesus. *Tertul. adv. Jud. et adv. Marcion*. l. iii. §. 16. Igitur Moyses his administratis Ausem quendam nomine præponens populo, qui eos revocaret ad patriam terram. *Clem. l. i. Recognit.* Qui cum primum Auses vocaretur, Moses jussit eum Jesum vocari. *Lactan. de vera Sup.* c. 17. Οὐ πρότερον γοῦν (Μωϋσῆς) τὸν αὐτοῦ διάδοχον τῷ τῷ Ἰησοῦ κεκλημένον προσηγορέα, ὀνόματι δὲ ἰτίαν τῷ Αἰσῇ, ὅπερ οἱ γενήσαντες αὐτῷ τίθωνται, καλούμενοι, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* l. i. c. 3. Thus was the Hoseah something disguised by *Auses*, and was farther estranged yet by those who frequently called him *Ναυῆς*, as *Euseb. Demonst. Ev.* l. v. c. 17. thrice.

§ This Justin Martyr charges upon the Jews as neglected by them, and affirms the reason why they received not Jesus for the Christ, was their not observing the alteration of Hosea into Josua or Jesus. Αἰσῇ καλούμενον Ἰησοῦν Μωσῆς ἐκάλεσε, ταῦτο οὐ ζήτησε· δι' ἣν αἰτία ἐποίησαν, οὐκ ἀπερίεως οὐδὲ φιλοπρωτεῖς, τοιγαροῦν λέλθῃσι ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἀνακηρύσσων οὐ σπῆιν. And whereas they spake much of the change made in the names of Abram and Sarai, which were but of a letter, they took no notice of this total alteration of the name: so he, διὰ τί μὲν ἐν ἀλφα πρώτῃ προσενέδθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὀνόματι Σιλωχάϊς, καὶ διὰ τί ἐν ῥῶ τῷ Σάρρας ὀνόματι ἱεροῦς κήμ· πολογαῖς; διὰ τί δὲ τὸ παρῶν ὄνομα τῷ Αἰσῇ τῷ υἱῷ Ναυῆ δῶν μετασπῆσται τῷ Ἰησοῦ, οὐ ζήτηίς; where, to pass by the vulgar mistake of the Greeks, who generally deliver the addition of *a* in the name of Abraham, and *e* in the name of Sarah, when the first was an addition of *i*, the second a change of *y* into *i*, he would make that of Hosea into Jesus a far more considerable alteration than that of Abraham or of Sarah.

the name *Hoseah are preserved in that of Joshuah, from whence it is evident that this alteration was not made by a verbal mutation, as when Jacob was called Israel, nor by any literal change, as when Sarai was named Sarah, nor yet by diminution or mutilation; but by addition, as when Abram was called Abraham. Secondly, it must be confessed that there is but one literal addition, and that of that letter which is most frequent in the Hebrew names: but being thus solemnly added by Moses, upon so remarkable an occasion as the viewing of the land of Canaan was, and that unto a name already known, and after used, it cannot be thought to give any less than a † present designation of his person to be a Saviour of the people, and future certainty of salvation included in his name unto the Israelites by his means. Thirdly, though the number of the letters be augmented actually but to one, yet it is not improbable that another may be virtually added, and in the signification understood. For being the first letter of Hoseah will not endure a duplication, and if the same letter were to be added, one of them must be absorbed; it is possible another of the same might be by Moses intended, and one of them suppressed. If then unto the name Hosea we join one of the titles of God, which is Jah, there will result from both, by the custom of that Hebrew tongue, Jehoshuah, and so not only the ‡ instrumental, but also the original cause of the

* הוֹשֵׁעַ הוֹשֵׁעַ

† For it may well be thought that ך is added to make the name הוֹשֵׁעַ the same with the third person of the future in Hiphil, הוֹשִׁיעַ. For although ה the characteristical letter of the conjugation Hiphil be excluded in the future tense, and so the regular word be הוֹשִׁיעַ frequently in use; yet sometimes it is expressed, as it is used, 1 Sam. xvii. 47. **לֹא בָחַרְבַּ וּבַחֲנִית הוֹשִׁיעַ הוֹדָה** And all the assembly shall know that the Lord saveth (or will save) not with sword and spear: and Psal. cxvi. 6. **רָלַתִּי וְלִי הוֹשִׁיעַ** I was brought low, and he helped me. And although there be another ך in the future than in the name, yet being it is also found sometimes with the lesser oblique, and so without the latter ך, or without any oblique at all, as frequently with the addition of ך, הוֹשִׁיעַ, there is no reason but הוֹשִׁיעַ, the name of the son of Nun, may be of the same force, as consisting of

the same letters with the third person of the future in Hiphil. Again, being ך added to the future, as formative thereof, stands in the place of ך (for the avoiding of confusion with ך conjunctive) which is nothing else than the abbreviation of הוֹשִׁיעַ, we may well assign at least this emphasis to the mutation which Moses made; that whereas before there was nothing but salvation barely in his name, now there is no less than he shall save, in which the הוֹשִׁיעַ or ך is a peculiar designation of the person, and the shall or tense a certainty of the futuration. Thus will the design of Moses appear to be nothing else but a prediction or confirmation of that which was not before, but by way of desire or omination; and this only by changing the imperative into the future, הוֹשִׁיעַ serva, the expectation of the people, into הוֹשִׁיעַ servabit, the ratification of Moses.

‡ So did the ancients understand it: to the Greeks Jesus is σωτήρ Θεοῦ, to the Latins, Salvator Dei. So Euseb

Jews' deliverance will be found expressed in one word : as if Moses had said, This is the person by whom God will save his people from their enemies.

Now being we have first declared that Jesus is the same name with Josuah, being the name of Josuah was first imposed by Divine designation, as a certain prediction of the fulfilling to the Israelites, by the person which bare the name, all which was signified by the name, being Jesus was likewise named by a more immediate imposition from heaven, even by the ministration of an angel ; it followeth, that we believe he was infallibly designed by God to perform unto the sons of men whatsoever is implied in his nomination. As therefore in Hosea there was expressed salvation, in Josuah at least was added the designation of that single person to save, with certainty of preservation, and probably even the name of God, by whose appointment and power he was made a Saviour ; so shall we find the same in Jesus. In the first salutation, the angel Gabriel told the blessed Virgin, she should " conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son, and should call his name Jesus." (Luke i. 31.) In the dream of Joseph the angel of the Lord informed him not only of the nomination, but of the interpretation or etymology ;* " thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." In which words is clearly expressed the designation

Demonstr. Ew. l. iv. ad finem. 'Ερω δὲ σωτήριον Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνῇ τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μεταληφθὲν ὄνομα σημαίνει. Ἰησοῦ μὲν γὰρ παρ' Ἑβραίων σωτήριον, υἱὸς δὲ Ναυὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἰησοὺ ἐνομάζεται. Ἰησοὺ δὲ ἴσθι ἰαὼ σωτήριον, τοῦτ' ἴσθι, Θεοῦ σωτήριον. Where nothing can be more certain than that ἰαὼ is taken for the name of God, and ἰαὼ σωτήριον, together, the salvation of God. And yet Theophylact has strangely mistaken it, Matt. i. 1. Τὸ Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα οὐχ Ἑλληνικὸν ἴσθι, ἀλλ' Ἑβραϊκόν, ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ σωτήρ, ἰαὼ γὰρ ἡ σωτήρια παρ' Ἑβραίων λέγεται which words seem plainly to signify that Jesus is interpreted Saviour, because ἰαὼ in the Hebrew tongue signifieth salvation. I confess the words may be strained to the same sense with those of Eusebius, but not without some force, and contrary to what he seemeth to intend. Especially considering those which followed him in the same mistake, as Moschopulus περιεχέειν. Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰαὼ γίνεται, ὃ δηλοῖ παρ' Ἑβραίων τὴν σωτήριον. Whereas ἰαὼ in Eusebius is certainly no other than יְהוָה, and ἰησοῦ

than יֵשׁוּעַ, and ἰησοὺς contracted of ἰαὼ ἰησοῦς, the salvation of God. Nor is this only the opinion of Eusebius, but of St. Jerome, a man much better acquainted with the Hebrew language ; who on the first chapter of Hosea, shewing that Josuah had first the same name with that of the prophet, saith, non enim (ut male in Græcis codicibus legitur et Latinis) Ausus dictus est, quod nihil omnino intelligitur, sed Osce, id est, Salvator : et additum est ejus nomini Dominus, ut Salvator Domini diceretur. What then was it but יְהוָה the Dominus added to his name ? For as in the name of Esaias, St. Jerome acknowledges the addition of the name of God, Interpretatur autem Esaias Salvator Domini ; in the same manner did he conceive it in the name of Joshua, only with this difference, that in the one it begins, in the other concludes the name.

* Jesus Hebræo sermone Salvator dicitur. Etymologiam ergo nominis ejus Evangelista signavit, dicens, Vocabis nomen ejus Jesum, quia ipse salvum faciet populum suum. *St. Hier.*

of the person, *He*, and the futurity of salvation certain by *him, he shall save*. Beside, that other addition of the name of God, propounded in Josuah as probable, appeareth here in some degree above probability, and that for two reasons. First, Because it is not barely said that *He*, but as the original raiseth it, “he himself shall save.”* Josuah saved Israel not by his own power, not of himself, but God by him; neither saved he his own people, but the people of God: whereas Jesus himself, by his own power, the power of God, shall save his own people, the people of God. Well therefore may we understand the interpretation of his name to be *God the Saviour*. Secondly, Immediately upon the prediction of the name of Jesus, and the interpretation given by the angel, the evangelist expressly observeth, “All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted, is God with us.” (Matt. i. 22, 23.) Several ways have been invented to shew the fulfilling of that prophecy, notwithstanding our Saviour was not called Emmanuel; but none can certainly appear more proper, than that the sense of Emmanuel should be comprehended in the name of Jesus: and what else is *God with us*, than *God our Saviour*? Well therefore hath the evangelist conjoined † the prophet and the angel asserting Christ, who was therefore named Jesus, because it was foretold he should be called Emmanuel, the angelical God, the Saviour being in the highest propriety the prophetic God with us.

However, the constant Scripture-interpretation of this name is *Saviour*. So said the angel of the Lord to the amazed shepherds, “Unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.” (Luke ii. 11.) So St. Paul to the Jews and Gentile proselytes at Antioch, “Of this man’s seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus.” (Acts xiii. 23.) Which explication of this sacred name was not more new or strange unto the world, than was the name itself so often used before. For the ancient Grecians usually gave it at first as a title to their gods, ‡ whom af-

* Ὁ αὐτός, ipse.

† Βλέπωντες Ἰσραὴλῆμους Εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ προφήτου ῥήσους, μεθερμηνεύσαντες γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, ὃ ἔστι σωτηρία τοῦ λαοῦ, τὸ μὲτα δούλον δισσώτην ἡμφιλοχερεῖν. Αν-

dreas Cretensis in Circumc.

‡ Jupiter, the chief of them, was most usually worshipped under this title. Euripides makes Amphitryo sitting by his altar, which Hercules had built, βασιλεῦς

ter any remarkable preservations they styled *saviours*, and under that notion built temples, and consecrated altars to them. Nor did they rest with their mistaken piety, but made it stoop unto their baser flattery, calling those men their *saviours* *

καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτήρα Διός. And Aristophanes introduces Bacchus swearing, καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτήρα as if it were the familiar oath among the Athenians, as well it might be, he having his temple in their Piræum, as Strabo testifieth, l. ix. (where Demosthenes by virtue of a decree was to build him an altar, *Plut. in Vit. Demosth.*) and his porch in the city, which was called indeed vulgarly τοῦ Ἑλευθερίου Διὸς σταῖα, yet was it also named τοῦ Σωτήρος as Harpocration and Hesychius have observed. Ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγράφεται μὲν Σωτήρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἑλευθερίος, δαδὲ καὶ Μένανδρος so the first: Τὸν Μένανδρον ἐκφυγόντας ἰδρύσαντο τὸν Ἑλευθερίου Δία, ταῦτον δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Σωτήρ φασιν so the latter. As in their oaths, so in their feasts they mentioned him always at the third cup. Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Θεῶν Ὀλυμπίου ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Ἡρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, sub. Διός which is omitted in Hesychius, as appears out of Athenæus, l. ii. and xv. And especially that of Alexis the comedian: Ἄλλ' ἔρχου Αὐτῷ Διὶ γὰρ τὴν δὲ Σωτήρος. Θεῶν ὅσους ἀπάντων χρησιμώτατος πολὺ Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτήρ. Pausanias in Corinthiacis, Messenicis, Laconicis et Arcadicis, mentions several statues and temples anciently dedicated to Jupiter, ἐπεὶ δὲ λαοὶ σωτήρι. Of which title Cornutus in his book *De natura Deorum* gives this account. Κατὰ τὸν γένοντά ἐστι καὶ τὸ σώζειν ἢ γὰρ, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἵστασθαι Σωτήρος εἶναι λεγόμενον. And though this title was so generally given to Jupiter, as that Hesychius expounds Σωτήρ, ὁ Ζεὺς, yet was it likewise attributed to the other gods: as Herodotus relates how the Grecians in their naval war against the Persians made their vows Ποσειδῶνι σωτήρι, and that they preserved the title to Neptune in his days, l. vii. And Artemidorus takes notice that Castor and Pollux are taken for the θεοὶ σωτήρις, whom the poem, bearing the name of Orpheus to Musæus, calls μεγάλους σωτήρας, ὁμοῦ Διὸς ἄφθιτα τέκνα as the hymn of Homer, Σωτήρας τίς παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων; Ὀκυπέτην τὴν νεῦν—And Theocritus in the *Idyllion* on them. Ἀνδράωντων σωτήρας ἐπὶ ἔφυρ' ἵδη ἔκονται. Hence Lucian in *Alexandro* useth it as their constant title, ἀλεξάνδρου σωτήρας. Neither have we mention of the title only, but of the original and occasion of it. For when Castor and

Pollux thrust the sons of Theseus out of Athens, and made Menestheus king, he gave them first this name, διὰ ταῦτα πρῶτος ὁ Μενεσθεὺς ἀνακτὰς τῆ καὶ σωτήρας ἀπόμαστον *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 5.* Beside these we read in the ancient inscriptions, Ἀσκληπιοῦ Θεῷ Σωτήρι and again, Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγίης Σωτήρι. For as they had their female deities, so did they attribute this title to their goddesses, and that both in the masculine and the feminine gender. As to Venus, Ἀφροδίτῃ Θεῷ Πασιγάρῳ καὶ Σωτήρι to Diana, Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτήρι, as the same collection of inscriptions hath it. Thus Pherecrates, Ἦσομεθα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι ταύτας Σωτήρας, and Sophocles, Τύχη γὰρ τῷ Σωτήρι. Thus the epigram extant in Suidas, Θεοφόρος, ὁ Σωτήρ, ἐπὶ Παλλάδος ἱσταὶ κλήρον Ἄρτεμι. —Οὐδὲν ἦν τὸν καμίνον Σωτήρα καὶ ἀλεξίμακον προσήγοραον. *Theodoret. Serm. viii. 595.* of Hercules. The Bæenses, an ancient people in Peloponnesus, Ἄρτεμιν θεομάζουσι Σώτειραν. *Paus. in Laconicis.* Her temple and statue in the city Troezen was built and named by Theseus at his safe return from Crete. The Megarenses preserved by her from the Persians, ἐπὶ τῇ δὲ Σωτήρας ἀγάλμα ἱστούσαντο Ἀρτέμιδος. And upon the same occasion another of the same bigness set up at *Page. Id.* But this title especially was given to Minerva. Σώτειρα ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, Hesych. Ἐστὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνη Σώτειρα λεγόμενη, ἢ καὶ θύουσι. *Schol. Aristoph. in Ranas.* Aristotle in his will obliged Nicænor to a dedication, Δεῖ Σωτήρι καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Σωτήρι. *Laert. in Vit. Arist.* And in general they invoked God under the notion of Σωτήρ, as Plato in *Timæo*, Θεὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ' ἀρχῇ τῶν λεγόμενων Σωτήρα ἐξ ἀπόρου καὶ ἀόρου διηγέσθωσιν πρὸς τὸ τῶν εὐχῶν δόγμα διασώζειν ἡμᾶς ἱσχυαλιεσμένοι, πάλιν ἀρχόμεθα λέγειν.

* This was the constant title of the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, given to him by the Rhodians. Ὅνιματα μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοι εἴφισιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπικλήσεις ἄλλω καὶ γὰρ φιλεμήτορα καλοῦσι, καὶ φιλάδελφοι ἔντρον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου Σωτήρα, παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα. *Paus. Atticis.* Which name first given him by the Rhodians was no way expressed in his usage of the Syrians, as is observed by Josephus, ὅς καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἄπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου Σωτήρος τότε χρηματίζοντος τὰ ἱερὰ καθεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερωμένῃ. *This*

for whom they seemed to have as great respect and honour as for their gods.

Nor does it always signify so much as that it may not be attributed to man: for even in the Scriptures the judges of Israel were called no less than their saviours. "When the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a deliverer to the children of Israel, who delivered them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz." (Judg. iii. 9. 15.) And again, "When they cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised them up a deliverer, Ehud the son of Gera." Where, though in our translation we call Othniel and Ehud *deliverers*, yet in the original they are plainly termed *saviours*.*

Now what the full import and ultimate sense of the title of saviour might be, seemed not easy to the ancients: and the best† of the Latins thought the Greek word so pregnant and

was so familiar, that Tertullian useth the title instead of the name. Post eum (so. Alexandrum) regnavit illic in Alexandria Soter annis 35. Thus Antigonus was first called by the Greeks their *Eusegytus*; or *benefactor*, then *Sotēs*, or *Saviour*: οὐ μόνον ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν καλεῖσθαι Εὐσεγίτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετέλλαξας, Σωτῆς. Polyb. l. v. Thus we read of Demetrius, who restored the Athenians to their liberty; ἀνεκρίτησαν καὶ βοῶντες ἐκάλουν ἀνοσβοῦναι τὸν Δημήτριον, Σωτῆρα καὶ Εὐσεγίτην ἀναγορεύσαντες. Plut. in Vita. And not only so, but numbered Demetrius and Antigonus among their *Dii Soteres*; and instead of their annual archon, whose name they used in their distinction of years, they created a priest of these *Dii Soteres*, as the same author testifieth: μέντοι δὲ Σωτῆρας ἀνέγραψαν θεοὺς, καὶ τὸν ἰσώνυμον καὶ πάτριον ἀρχοντα καταπαύσαντες, ἱερεῖα Σωτῆρων ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ ἱεραστον ἱναυτόν. Appian relates of Demetrius that he received this title from the Babylonians. Τίμαρχον ἱερανοστήσαντον ἀνελόν, καὶ τὰλλα πομπῶς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπομένον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Σωτῆς ἀρξάμενον τῶν βασιλείων ἡνωμάσθη. De Bell. Syriac. Lucian's mistake in his salutation tells us of Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σωτῆρ, and Appian gives us the routing of the Gauls as the cause of that title: ὅς καὶ Σωτῆρ ἱππελὴς Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς ἐξέλεως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡμεβαλόντας ἐξέλεσας. lb. And in process of time this title grew so customary and familiar, that the Sicilians bestowed it upon Verres their oppressor. Itaque illum non solum patronum istius insulae, sed etiam Sotera inscriptum vidi Syracusis, says Cicero, Verrin. ii.

וְיֵשׁוּעַ מוֹשִׁיעַ לְבָנֵי חֵם Heb. *

יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיֵשׁוּעַ. So the Septuagint clearly, καὶ ἵσται κύριος Σωτῆρα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἰσώσιν αὐτούς, τὸν Γοθονιὰν υἱὸν Κανὶζ. Qui suscitavit eis Salvatorem, et liberavit eos, Othniel. Again, καὶ ἵσται κύριος αὐτοῖς Σωτῆρα τὸν Ἀδδ, υἱὸν Γερᾶ. Qui suscitavit Salvatorem vocabulo Aioth, filium Gera. Vet. Transl. Upon which place St. Augustine notes, Animadvertendum est autem quod Salvatorem dicat etiam hominem, per quem Deus salvos faciat. Quæst. l. vii. c. 18.

† So Cicero in the place before cited, having said he saw Verres inscribed Sotera, goes on, Hoc quantum est? ita magnum, ut Latino uno verbo exprimi non possit. But though in Cicero's time there was no Latin word used in that sense; yet not long after it was familiar. For as in the Greek inscriptions we read often dedications Δι Σωτῆρι so in the Latin we find often *Jovi Servatori*, or *Conservatori*, sometimes *Jovi Servatori*, or *Salutari*: all which are nothing else but the Latin expressions of the Greek inscriptions. And without question *Sotēr* might have been rendered *Sospitator* and even *Sospes*, as it was used in the days of Ennius. Sospes, salvus: Ennius tamen sospitem pro servatore posuit. Festus. Neither indeed could the Sicilians mean any more of Verres, by the word *Sotera*, than Tully spake of himself, when he styled himself *Servatorem Reipub.* At least Tacitus did conceive that *Conservator* is as much as *Soter*, when speaking of Milichus, who detected the conspiracies to Nero, he saith, Milichus præmiis ditatus Conservatoris sibi nomen, Græco ejus rei vocabulo, assumpsit. Annal. l. xv.

comprehensive, that the Latin tongue had no single word able to express it.

But whatsoever notion the heathen had of their gods or men which they styled saviours, we know this name belongeth unto Christ in a more sublime and peculiar manner. "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." (Acts iv. 12.)

It remaineth therefore that we should explain how and for what reasons Christ truly is, and properly is called, our Saviour. First, then, I conceive, one sufficient cause of that appellation to consist in this, that he hath opened and declared unto us the only true way for the obtaining eternal salvation, and by such patefaction can deserve no less than the name of Saviour. For if those apostles and preachers of the gospel, who received the way of salvation from him, which they delivered unto others, may be said to save those persons which were converted by their preaching; in a far more eminent and excellent manner must he be said to save them, who first revealed all those truths unto them. St. Paul "Provoked to emulation them which were his flesh, that he might save some of them;" (Rom. xi. 14.) and "Was made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some." (1 Cor. ix. 22.) He exhorted "Timothy to take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine, and continue in them; for in doing this, he should both save himself and them that heard him." (1. Tim. iv. 16.) And St. James speaks in more general terms; "Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and

He took to himself the name of Conservator, in a Greek word which signifies so much: and without question that must be σωτήρ. However, the first Christians of the Latin church were some time in doubt what word to use as the constant interpretation of σωτήρ, so frequent and essential to Christianity. Tertullian useth Saluator, or, as some books read it, Salvificator: Ergo jam non unus Deus, nec unus Saluator, si duo salutis artifices, et utique alter altero indigens. De carne Christi, c. 14. and shews it was so translated in the Philippians iii. 20. Et quidem de terra in cœlum, ubi nostrum municipium Philippenses quoque ab Apostolo discunt; unde et Salutificatorem nostrum expectamus Jesum Christum. De Resur. Carnis, c. 47. St. Hilary thought Salutaris a sufficient interpretation. Est

autem salutaris ipso illo nomine quo Jesus nuncupatur. Jesus enim secundum Hebraicam linguam Salutaris est, in Psal. cxviii. St. Augustine is indifferent between that and Salvator: Deus salvos faciendi Dominus est Jesus, quod interpretatur Salvator, sive Salutaris: and so Lactant. At last they generally used the word Salvator. First Tertullian: Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem: aliis ferus, ut Judex, aliis mansuetus, ut Salvator. adv. Marcion. l. iii. c. 18. Which word of his was rather followed by his imitator St. Cyprian, after whom Arnobius used it, after him his disciple Lactantius: and from thence it continued the constant language of the church, till the late innovators thrust it out of the Latin translation.

one convert him; let him know, that he which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death." (Jam. v. 19, 20.) Now if these are so expressly said to save the souls of them which are converted by the doctrine which they deliver, with much more reason must Christ be said to save them, whose ministers they are, and in whose name they speak. For it was he which "came and preached peace to them which were afar off, and to them that were nigh." (Eph. ii. 17.) The will of God concerning the salvation of man was revealed by him. "No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." (John i. 18.) Being then "the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," (Rom. i. 16.) being they which preach it at the command of Christ are said to save the souls of such as believe their word, being it was Christ alone "who brought life and immortality to light through the gospel;" (2 Tim. i. 10.) therefore he must in a most eminent and singular manner be acknowledged thereby to save, and, consequently, must not be denied, even in this first respect, the title of *Saviour*.

Secondly, This Jesus hath not only revealed, but also procured, the way of salvation; not only delivered it to us, but also wrought it out for us: and so "God sent his Son into the world, that the world through him might be saved." (John iii. 17.) We were all concluded under sin, and, being the wages of sin is death, we were obliged to eternal punishment, from which it was impossible to be freed, except the sin were first remitted. Now this is the constant rule, that "without shedding of blood is no remission. It was therefore necessary that Christ should appear to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." (Heb. ix. 22, 23, 26.) And so he did, for he "shed his blood for many, for the remission of sins," (Matt. xxvi. 28.) as himself professeth in the sacramental institution: "he bare our sins in his own body on the tree," (1 Pet. ii. 24.) as St. Peter speaks; and so in him "we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." (Col. i. 14.) And if "while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us: much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath by him." (Rom. v. 8, 9.) Again, we were all enemies unto God, and having offended him, there was no possible way of salvation, but

by being reconciled to him. If then we ask the question, as once the Philistines did concerning David, "Wherewith should *we* reconcile ourselves unto our master?" (1 Sam. xxix. 4.) We have no other name to answer it but *Jesus*. For "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." (2 Cor. v. 19.) And as under the law "the blood of the sin-offering was brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place;" so it pleased the Father through the Son, "having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself." (Col. i. 20—22.) And thus it comes to pass, that "us who were enemies in our mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death." And upon this reconciliation of our persons must necessarily follow the salvation of our souls. "For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son: much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." (Rom. v. 10.) Furthermore, we were all at first enslaved by sin, and brought into captivity by Satan, neither was there any possibility of escape but by way of redemption. Now it was the law of Moses, that if "any were able he might redeem himself:" (Lev. xxv. 49.) but this to us was impossible, because absolute obedience in all our actions is due unto God, and therefore no act of ours can make any satisfaction for the least offence. Another law gave yet more liberty, that he which "was sold might be redeemed again; one of his brethren might redeem him." (Lev. xlv. 48.) But this in respect to all the mere sons of men was equally impossible, because they were all under the same captivity. Nor could they satisfy for others, who were wholly unable to redeem themselves. Wherefore there was no other brother, but that Son of man, which is the Son of God, who was like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, which could work this redemption for us. And what he only could, that he freely did perform. For "the Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many:" (Matt. xx. 28.) and as he came to give, so he "gave himself a ransom for all." (1 Tim. ii. 6.) So that in him "we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." (Eph. i. 7.) For we are "bought with a price:" (1 Cor. vii. 23.) for we are "redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a

lamb without blemish and without spot." (1 Pet. i. 18, 19.) He then which hath obtained for us remission of sins, he who through himself hath reconciled us unto God, he who hath given himself as a ransom to redeem us, he who hath thus wrought out the way of salvation for us, must necessarily have a second and a far higher right unto the name of *Jesus*, unto the title of our *Saviour*.

Thirdly, Beside the promulging and procuring, there is yet a farther act, which is, conferring of salvation on us. All which we mentioned before was wrought by virtue of his death, and his appearance in the holy of holies: but we must still believe, he "is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." (Heb. vii. 25.) For now being set down at the right hand of God, he hath received all power both in heaven and earth; and the end of this power which he hath received is, to confer salvation upon those which believe in him. For the Father gave the Son "this power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as he hath given him;" (John xvii. 2.) that he should raise our bodies out of the dust, and cause our corruptible to put on incorruption, and our mortal to put on immortality: and upon this power we are to expect salvation from him. For we must "look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, from heaven, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." (Phil. iii. 20, 21.) And "unto them that *thus* look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin unto salvation." (Heb. ix. 28.) Being then we are all to endeavour that our "spirits may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus:" (1 Cor. v. 5.) being St. Peter hath taught us, that "God hath exalted Christ with his right hand to be a prince and a Saviour;" (Acts v. 31.) being the conferring of that upon us which he promised to us, and obtained for us, is the reward of what he suffered; therefore we must acknowledge that the actual giving of salvation to us is the ultimate and conclusive ground of the title *Saviour*.

Thus by the virtue of his precious blood Christ hath obtained remission of our sins, by the power of his grace hath taken away the dominion of sin, in the life to come will free us from all possibility of sinning, and utterly abolish death,

the wages of sin; wherefore well said the angel of the Lord, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins;" (Matt. i. 21.) well did Zacharias call him "a horn of salvation;" (Luke i. 69.) Simeon, "the salvation of God;" (Luke ii. 30.) St. Paul, "the Captain and Author of eternal salvation;" (Heb. v. 9. ii. 10.) St. Peter, "a Prince and a Saviour," (Acts v. 35.) correspondent to those judges of Israel, raised up by God himself to deliver his people from the hands of their enemies, and for that reason called *saviours*. "In the time of their trouble (say the Levites), when they cried unto thee, thou heardest them from heaven, and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them saviours, who saved them out of the hand of their enemies." (Neh. ix. 27.)

The correspondency of *Jesus* unto those temporal saviours will best appear, if we consider it particularly in Josuah, who bare that salvation in his name, and approved it in his actions. For, as the son of Sirach saith, "Jesus the son of Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in prophecies, who, according to his name, was made great for the saving of the elect of God." (Ecclus xli. 1.) Although therefore Moses was truly and really "a ruler and deliverer," (Acts vii. xxxv.) which is the same * with *saviour*; (although the rest of the judges were also by their office rulers and deliverers, and therefore styled *saviours*, as expressly Othniel and Ehud are; yet Josuah, far more particularly and exactly than the rest, is represented as a type of our *Jesus*, and that typical singularity manifested in his name.† For first, he it was alone, of all which passed out of Egypt, who was designed to lead the children of Israel into Canaan, the land of promise flowing with milk and honey. Which land as it was a type of the heaven of heavens, the inheritance of the saints, and eternal joys flowing from the right hand of God; so is the person which brought the Israelites into that place of rest ‡ a type of him who only can bring us into the presence of God, and there prepare our mansions for us, and

* Ῥύστης, σωτήρ, λυτρωτής. And again, Σωτήρ, ὁ Ζεὺς, ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ λυτρωτής. Hesych.

† Quantum attinet ad prophetiæ apparatus, nec gori nec dici aliquid possit insignis, quandoquidem res perducta est usque ad nominis expressionem. S. Aug. contra Faust. xvi. 49.

‡ Ὁν τρέπον ἐκείνος εἰσάγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν γῆν τὴν λαῶν, οὐχὶ Μωσῆς. καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐν κλήρῳ διέτισκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς εἰσέλθεσσι μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν διασπορὰν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιστρέψει, καὶ διαμερίσει τὴν ἀγάπην γῆν ἐκώσται. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.

assign them to us, as Josuah divided the land for an inheritance to the tribes. Besides, it is farther observable, not only what Josuah did, but what Moses could not do. The hand of Moses and Aaron brought them out of Egypt, but left them in the wilderness, and could not seat them in Canaan. Josuah, the successor, only could effect that in which Moses failed. Now nothing is more frequent in the phrase of the Holy Ghost, than to take Moses for the doctrine delivered, or the books written by him, that is, the law;* from whence it followeth, that the death of Moses and the succession of Josuah, presignified the continuance of the law till Jesus came, “by whom all that believe are justified from all things, from which we could not be justified by the law of Moses.” (Acts xiii. 39.) “The law and the prophets were until John: since that the kingdom of God is preached.” (Luke xvi. 16.) Moses must die, that Joshua may succeed. “By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified (for by the law is the knowledge of sin); but the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe.” (Rom. iii. 20—22.) Moses indeed seems to have taken Josuah with him up into the mount: (Exod. xxiv. 13.) but if he did, sure it was to enter the cloud which covered the mount where the glory of the Lord abode: for without *Jesus*,† “in whom

* As Luke xvi. 29, 31. xxiv. 27. Joh. v. 45, 46. Acts vi. 11. collated with the thirteenth verse, Acts xv. 21. xxi. 21. 2 Cor. iii. 15. *Μωσής νοτιόν τὸν νόμον, Ἰησοῦν τὴν ἐμάνουμον ἐκείνη σωτῆρα. ὁσπας ταύτην κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν, Μωσὴ τιταλυντάντος, Ἰησοῦς τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπαγγελμένην εὐαγγέλιον γῆν, οὕτως μετὰ τὸ τοῦ νόμου τέλος ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐπιφανὴς Ἰησοῦς ἀνίστη τῷ ἰουδαίῳ λαῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.* Theodoret. in *Jos. Proem.* Cum Successor Moysi destinaretur Auses filius Nave, transferatur certe de pristino nomine, et incipit vocari Jesus. Certe, inquis, hanc prius dieimus figuram futuri fuisse. Nam quia Jesus Christus secundum populum, quod sumus nos, nationes in seculi deserto commorantes antea, introducturus esset in terram repromissionis melle et lacte manantem, id est, in vitæ eternæ possessionem, qua nihil dulcius, idque non per Moysen, id est, non per legis disciplinam, sed per Jesum, id est, per novæ legis gratiam, provenire habebat, circumcisis nobis petrina acie, id est, Christi præceptis (petra enim Christus multis modis et figuris

prædicatus est), ideo is vir qui in hujus Sacramenti imagine parabatur, etiam nominis Dominici inauguratus est figura, ut Jesus nominaretur. Tertul. adv. Judæos, c. 9. et adv. Marcion. l. i. c. 16. Idcirco Moysi etiam successit ut ostenderet novam legem, per Jesum Christum datam, veteri legi successorum, quæ data per Moysen fuit. Lactan. de vera Sap. l. iv. c. 17. In cujus comparatione (Moyses) improbatum est, ut non ipse introduceret populum in terram promissionis; ne videlicet Lex per Moysen, non ad salvandum, sed ad convincendum peccatorem data, in regnum cœlorum introducere putaretur, sed gratia et veritas per Jesum Christum facta. S. Aug. contra Faustum, l. xvi. c. 19. Jesus dux qui populum eduxerat de Ægypto, Jesus qui interpretatur Salvator, Mose mortuo et sepulto in Moab, hoc est, Lege mortuo, in Evangelium cupit inducere populum suum. S. Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi.

† Moyses in nubem intravit, ut operta et occulta cognosceret, adherente sibi socio Jesu, quia nemo sine vero Jesu po-

are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," there is no looking into the secrets of heaven, no approaching to the presence of God. The command of circumcision was not given unto Moses, but to Josuah; nor were the Israelites circumcised in the wilderness, under the conduct of Moses and Aaron, but in the land of Canaan, under their successor. For "at that time the Lord said unto Josuah, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time." (Jos. v. 2.) Which speaketh* Jesus to be the true circumciser, the author of another circumcision than that of the flesh commanded by the law, even "their circumcision of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter;" (Rom. ii. 29.) that which "is made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh," (Col. ii. 11.) which is therefore called the "circumcision of Christ."

Thus if we look upon Josuah as the "minister of Moses," (Exod. xxiv. 13. Jos. i. 1.) he is even in that a type of Christ, the "minister of the circumcision for the truth of God." (Rom. xv. 8.) If we look on him as the successor of Moses, in that he representeth Jesus, inasmuch as "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." (John i. 17.) If we look on him as now judge and ruler of Israel, there is scarce an action which is not clearly predictive of our Saviour. He begins his office at the banks of Jordan,† where Christ is baptized, and enters upon the public exercise of his prophetic office. He chooseth there twelve men out of the people, to carry twelve stones over with them; as our Jesus thence began to choose his twelve‡ apostles, those foundation-stones in the church of God, whose "names are in the twelve foundations of the wall of the holy city, the new Jerusalem." (Rev. xxi. 14.) It hath been observed,§ that the saving Rahab the harlot alive, foretold what Jesus once

test incerta sapientiae, et occulta comprehendere. Et ideo in specie Jesu Nave veri Salvatoris significabatur affutura praesentia, per quem fierent omnes docibiles Dei, qui Legem aperiret, Evangelium revelaret. *S. Ambros. in Psal. xlvii.*

* Non enim propheta sic ait, Et dixit Dominus ad me; sed ad Jesum: ut ostenderet quod non de se loqueretur, sed de Christo, ad quem tum Deus loquebatur. Christi enim figuram gerebat ille Jesus. *Lactant. l. iv. c. 17.*

† Τύπων δὲ Ἰφραὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ναυὲ Ἰησοῦς κατὰ πολλὰ ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἀρχεῖν τοῦ λαοῦ

ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. ὅταν καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς βαπτισθῇς ἤρξατο εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. *S. Cyril. Catech. 10.*

‡ St. Cyril addeth that he divided the land by twelve men; Δώδεκα δὲ διαίρουσας τὴν κληρονομίαν καθίστασιν ὁ τοῦ Ναυὲ υἱός, καὶ δώδεκα τοὺς Ἀποστόλους κήρυκας τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποστέλλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς. *Ibid.*

§ By the same St. Cyril. Πιστεύσαντες ῥαὰβ τὴν πόρνην ἰσώσεν ὁ τυττικὸς· ὁ δὲ ἀληθὴς φησιν, ἴδου οἱ τελευτᾶν καὶ αἱ πέναντι προάγουσιν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

should speak to the Jews, " Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you." (Matt. xxi. 31.) " He said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon: and the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day." (Jos. x. 12, 13.) Which great miracle was not only wrought by the power of him whose name he bare, but did also signify* that, in the latter days, toward the setting of the sun, when the light of the world was tending unto a night of darkness, " the Sun of righteousness should arise with healing in his wings," and, giving a check to the approaching night, become " the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." (John i. 9.)

But to pass by more particulars, Josuah smote the Amalekites, and subdued the Canaanites; by the first making way to enter the land, by the second giving possession of it. And Jesus our prince and saviour, whose kingdom was not of this world, in a spiritual manner goeth in and out before us against our spiritual enemies, subduing sin and Satan, and so opening and clearing our way to heaven; destroying the last enemy, death, so giving us possession of eternal life. † Thus do we believe the man called *Jesus* to have fulfilled in the highest degree imaginable, all which was but typified in him who first bare the name, and in all the rest which succeeded in his office, and so to be the Saviour of the world; " whom God hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, that we should be saved from our enemies, and the hands of all that hate us." (Luke i. 69. 71.)

The necessity of the belief of this part of the article is not only certain, but evident: because there is no end of faith without a Saviour, and no other name but this by which we can be saved, and no way to be saved by him but by believ-

* Stetit Sol, quia in Jesu et typum futuri agnoscebat et nomen. Neque enim in sua virtute Jesu Nave, sed in Christi mysterio cœlestibus luminibus imperabat. Designabatur enim Dei filium in hoc seculum esse venturum, qui mundani luminis concidentis, et jam vergentis in tenebras, virtute divina differret occasum, lucem redderet, inveheret claritatem. S. Ambros. Apolog. David. poster. c. 4. Ille imperavit Soli ut staret, et stetit; et istius typo ille magnus erat. Ille imperabat, sed Dominus efficiebat. S. Hieron. in

Psal. lxxvi.

† Τί λέγει πάλιν Μωσῆς τῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ τοῦ Ναυὶ υἱῷ, ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ τούτου ὄνομα ὡς προφάνη; ἵνα μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς λαός, ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατήρ φανεῖται περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυὶ καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τούτου ὄνομα ὅποτε ἐπιμαρτυρῇ κατὰ σκοπὸν τῆς γῆς. Λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας σου, καὶ γράψον ἃ λέγει Κύριος. Ὅτι ἐν ῥήσιν ἐκλύθη πάντα τὰ ὅλου τοῦ Ἀμαλὴκ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἰσχυράτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. Οἱ δὲ (ἰδὲ) πάλιν Ἰησοῦς οὐχ ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς. Barnabæ Epist. c. 9.

ing in him. For "this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and he that keepeth his commandment dwelleth in him and he in him." (1 John iii. 23, 24.) From him then, and from him alone, must we expect salvation, acknowledging and confessing freely there is nothing in ourselves which can effect or deserve it for us, nothing in any other creature which can promote or procure it to us. For "there is but one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." (1 Tim. ii. 5.) It is only "the beloved Son, in whom God is well pleased, *he* is clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; he hath trod the wine-press alone. We like sheep have gone astray, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." (Isa. liii. 6.) "By him God hath reconciled all things to himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven." (Col. i. 20.) By him alone is our salvation wrought: for his sake then only can we ask it, from him alone expect it.

Secondly, This belief is necessary, that we may delight and rejoice in the name of *Jesus*, as that in which all our happiness is involved. At his nativity an angel from heaven thus taught the shepherds, the first witnesses of the blessed incarnation; "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." (Luke ii. 10, 11.) And what the angel delivered at present, that the prophet Isaiah, that old evangelist, foretold at distance. When "the people which walked in darkness should see a great light; when unto us a child should be born, unto us a son should be given: *then* should they joy before God, according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil." (Isa. ix. 2. 6.) When "God shall come with recompence, *when* he shall come and save us; *then* the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Sion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads." (Isa. xxxv. 4. 10.)

Thirdly, The belief in Jesus ought to inflame our affection, to kindle our love toward him, engaging us to hate all things in respect of him, that is, so far as they are in opposition to him, or pretend to equal share of affection with him. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than

me is not worthy of me," (Matt. x. 37.) saith our Saviour ; so forbidding all prelation of any natural affection, because our spiritual union is far beyond all such relations. Nor is a higher degree of love only debarred us, but any equal pre-tension is as much forbidden. " If any man come to me (saith the same Christ), and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." (Luke xiv. 26.) Is it not this Jesus in whom the love of God is demonstrated to us, and that in so high a degree as is not expressible by the pen of man? " God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son." (John iii. 16.) Is it not he who shewed his own love to us far beyond all possibility of parallel? For " greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends ;" (John xv. 13.) but " while we were yet sinners (that is, enemies), Christ died for us," (Rom. v. 8.) and so became our *Jesus*. Shall thus the Father shew his love in his Son? Shall thus the Son shew his love in himself? and shall we no way study a requital? or is there any proper return of love but love? The voice of the church, in the language of Solomon, is, " my love:" (Cant. ii. 7. iii. 5. viii. 4.) nor was that only the expression of a spouse, but of Ignatius,* a man, after the apostles, most remarkable. And whosoever considereth the infinite benefits to the sons of men flowing from the actions and sufferings of their Saviour, cannot choose but conclude with St. Paul, " If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema maran-atha." (1 Cor. xvi. 22.)

Lastly, The confession of faith in *Jesus* is necessary to breed in us a correspondent esteem of him, and an absolute obedience to him, that we may be raised to the true temper of St. Paul, who " counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, for whom he suffered the loss of all things, and counted them but dung, that he might win Christ." (Phil. iii. 8.) Nor can we pretend to any true love of Jesus, except we be sensible of the readiness of our obedience to him : as knowing what language he used to his disciples, " If ye love me, keep my commandments ;" (John xiv. 15.) and what the apostle of his bosom spake, " This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments." (1 John v. 3.) His own disciples once marvelled,

* Ο ἱμὸς ἕως ἁρταύματος.

and said, "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" (Matt. viii. 27.) How much more should we wonder at all disobedient Christians, saying, What manner of men are these, who refuse obedience unto him whom the senseless creatures, the winds and the sea, obeyed? Was the name of Jesus at first sufficient to cast out devils? (Mark ix. 38. Luke xix. 13.) and shall man be more refractory than they? Shall the exorcist say to the evil spirit, "I adjure thee by the name of Jesus," (Acts xix. 13.) and the devil give place? Shall an apostle speak unto us in the same name, and we refuse? Shall they obey that name which signifieth nothing unto them; for "he took not on him the nature of angels," and so is not their Saviour? And can we deny obedience unto him, who "took on him the seed of Abraham, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross," (Phil. ii. 8.) for us, that he might be raised to full power and absolute dominion over us, and by that power be enabled at last to save us, and in the mean time to rule and govern us, and exact the highest veneration from us? For "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth." (Phil. ii. 9, 10.)

Having thus declared the original of the name *Jesus*, the means and ways by which he who bare it expressed fully the utmost signification of it; we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian easily understand, what it is he says, when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus*: which may be not unfitly in this manner described. I believe not only that there is a God, who made the world; but I acknowledge and profess that I am fully persuaded of this, as of a certain and infallible truth, that there was and is a man, whose name by the ministry of an angel was called Jesus, of whom, particularly Joshua, the first of that name, and all the rest of the judges and saviours of Israel, were but types. I believe that *Jesus*, in the highest and utmost importance of that name, to be the Saviour of the world; inasmuch as he hath revealed to the sons of men the only way for the salvation of their souls, and wrought the same way out for them by the virtue of his blood, obtaining remission for sinners, making reconciliation for enemies, paying the price of redemption for captives; and shall at last

himself actually confer the same salvation, which he hath promulged and procured, upon all those which unfeignedly and steadfastly believe in him. I acknowledge there is no other way to heaven beside that which he hath shewn us, there is no other means which can procure it for us but his blood, there is no other person which shall confer it on us but himself. And with this full acknowledgment, *I believe in Jesus.*

And in Jesus Christ.

Having thus explained the proper name of our Saviour, *Jesus*, we come unto that title of his office usually joined with his name, which is therefore the more diligently to be examined, because the Jews* who always acknowledge him to be *Jesus*, ever denied him to be *Christ*, and agreed together, “that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.” John ix. 22.

For the full explication of this title, it will be necessary, First, To deliver the signification of the word; Secondly, To shew upon what grounds the Jews always expected a Christ or Messias; Thirdly, To prove that the Messias promised to the Jews is already come; Fourthly, To demonstrate that our Jesus is that Messias; and Fifthly, To declare in what that unction, by which Jesus is Christ, doth consist, and what are the proper effects thereof. Which five particulars being clearly discussed, I cannot see what should be wanting for a perfect understanding that *Jesus is Christ.*

For the First, We find in the Scriptures two several names, *Messias* and *Christ*, but both of the same signification; as appeareth by the speech of the woman of Samaria, “I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ;” (John iv. 25.) and more plainly by what Andrew spake unto his brother Simon, “We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ.” (John. i. 41.) *Messias* in the Hebrew tongue, *Christ* in the Greek.† *Messias*,‡ the language of

* Ιουδαῖοι γὰρ παραδίδωκεν αὐτὸν εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν· τὸ δὲ καὶ Χριστὸν εἶναι, ταῦτον οὐκ εἶπεν. S. Cyril. Cat. 10.

† Συγγενεῖς, Μεσσίαν σφοδρὸν εὐρομεν, ὃς Θεὸς ἀντὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰουδαίοισιν ἀκούεται Ἑλλὰδι φωνῇ. Nonnus.

‡ From מָשִׁיחַ *masch*; in the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ and מְשִׁיחַ *misch*; in the Syriac מְשִׁיחָא; in the Greek, by changing ψ

into σ, by omitting Π a guttural not fit for their pronunciation, and by adding c, as their ordinary termination, ΜΑΨΧΑ is turned into Μεσσίας. That this was the Greek Χριστός, and the Latin Christus, is evident; and yet the Latins living at a distance, strangers to the customs of the Jews, and the doctrine of the Christians, mistook this name, and called him Chres-

Andrew and the woman of Samaria, who spake in Syriac; Christ, the interpretation of St. John, who wrote this Gospel

tus, from the Greek *Χριστός*. So Suetonius in the life of Claudius, c. 25. Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulsi. Which was not only his mistake, but generally the Romans at first, as they named him *Chrestus*, so they called us *Christiani*. Tertul. adv. Gentes. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. Lactan. l. iv. c. 17. Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere. Upon which mistake Justin Martyr justifies the Christians of his time. Έπει δὸν γε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χριστιότατοι ὑπάγεχομιν. And again, Χριστιανοί (or rather Χριστιανοί) γὰρ εἶναι κατηγοροῦμεθα. τὸ δὲ χριστὸν μισοῦσθαι οὐ βλαπὼν. Apol. 2. It was then the ignorance of the Jewish affairs which caused the Romans to name our Saviour *Chrestus*, and the true title is certainly *Christus*. *Χριστός μὲν, κατὰ τὸ περὶ Χριστοῦ, εἶπεν Ἰωάννης.* Τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα πρῶτον Μωσθεῖ τοῖς χρηματίοις ἐπιτίθειναι, says Euseb. Dem. Evang. l. iv. c. 15. Quoniam Græci veteres χρίσθαι dicebant ungi, quod nunc ἀλείφειν, ob hanc rationem nos eum Christum nuncupamus, id est, unctum, qui Hebraice Messias dicitur. Lact. l. iv. c. 7. So the Latins generally *Christus* a *Chrimate*: and without question *Χριστός* is from *χρίσσω*. Yet I conceive the first signification of this word among the Greeks hath not been hitherto sufficiently discovered. The first of the ancients in whom I meet with the word *Χριστός* is *Æschylus* the tragedian, and in him I find it had another sense than now we take it in; for in his language that is not *χριστὸν* which is anointed, but that with which it is anointed; so that it signifieth not the subject of unction, but the ointment as diffused in the subject. The place is this in his *Prometheus Vincutus*.

Οὐκ ἦν ἀλῆχη· οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ βρώσιμον,
Οὐ χριστὸν, οὐδὲ πιστὸν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων
Χρῆμα κατισπύλλοντο

Prometheus shews himself to be the inventor of the art of physic, that before him therefore there was no medicine, neither to be taken internally by eating or by drinking, nor externally by way of unction, as the Scholiast very well expounds it. Οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲν εὐχέημα θεραπεύας οὐδὲ διὰ βρώσεως προσφερόμενον (which is οὐδὲ βρώσιμον in *Æschylus*) οὐτὶ δὲ ἐπι-

χρίσας ἔφαθεν, (which is οὐ χριστὸν) οὐ δὲ διὰ πίσεως, (ταῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ πιατὸν.) So Eustathius, Τρεῖς φαρμάκων ἰδίαι παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, ἐπιπαστα, ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ Μεγάλῳ, ὅπερ ἦν φάρμακον εὐδὲς πᾶσιν ὁ Μαχάων καὶ χριστὰ οἷον ἰοῦς χρίσθαι· καὶ πιστὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσχύλον, ταυτίσσι ποτὰ ἢ πῶτιμα. Ad 11. 3. As therefore from πῶν πῶν, πιστὸν, so from χρίω χρίω, χριστὸν. And as πιστὸν is not that which receiveth drink, but that drink which is received, not *quod potat*, but *quod potabile est*; so χριστὸν is not that which receiveth oil, but that which is received by unction. So the Scholiast upon Aristophanes, Τῶν φαρμάκων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ καταπλάσται, τὰ δὲ χριστὰ, τὰ δὲ ποτὰ. And the Scholiast of Theocritus, Ἰστὶόν ἐστι τῶν φαρμάκων τὰ μὲν εἰσι χριστὰ, ἦγον ἄπαι χρίμεθα εἰς θεραπείαν τὰ δὲ ποτὰ, ἦγον, ἄπαι πίνομεν· τὰ δὲ ἐπιπαστα, ἦγον, ἄπαι ἐπιπᾶττομεν. Idyl. 11. So that χριστὸν in his judgment is the same with ἐγ-χριστον in Theocritus.

Οὐδὲν ποτὸν ἔρωτα παύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,
Νικία, οὐτ' ἐγχευστον, ἡμῖν δοκί, οὐτ' ἐπιπασ-
τον,

Ἡ τὰ Πιρίδης

In the same sense with *Æschylus* did Euripides use *χριστὸν φάρμακον* in *Hippolyto*, Πότερα δὲ χριστὸν ἢ ποτὸν τὸ φάρμακον; and not only those ancient poets, but even the latter orators; as Dion Chrysostomus: Πολλὸ γὰρ χεῖρον καὶ διεφθαγμένον σώματος, καὶ νοσούντος ψυχῇ διεφθαμένῃ, μὴ δ' ὅλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων χριστῶν ἢ ποτῶν. Orat. 78. And the LXX. have used it in this sense; as when the Hebrew speaks of *חֲטָט* *חֲטָט* *חֲטָט* oleum unctionis, they translate it τοῦ ἰωκεχυμένου ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἱλαίου τοῦ χριστοῦ, Lev. xxi. 10. and again v. 12. *חֲטָט* *חֲטָט* *חֲטָט* ὅτι τὸ ἄγιον ἔλαιον τὸ χριστὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Oleum unctionis then is *ἔλαιον χριστὸν*, which in Exodus xxix. 7. xxxv. 13. xl. 9. the same translators, correspondent to the Hebrew phrase, call *ἔλαιον χρίσματος*, and more frequently *ἔλαιον χρίσεως*. The place of Sophocles is something doubtful, Ὅθεν μῦλοι πανάμερος τὰς πειθούς παγχρίστου συκαρθεῖς ἐπὶ προσφάσει θυρῶς for though the Scholiast takes it in the ordinary sense, *παγχρίστου* λείπει τῷ πῆπλῳ ἦγον τῷ χριστῷ πῆπλῳ συκαρθεῖς καὶ ἄρροσθαι τῇ πειθού τοῦ θυρῶς: yet both τὰς πειθούς before it, and *συκαρθεῖς* after, seem to incline to the former sense, p. 354. and in the next page *ἀπὶ τῷ χριστῷ* is clearly attributed to the ointment, Τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτ' ἄπυρον, ἀπὸ τῶς τ' αἰ δὲ βίαιας ἔδωκεν, ἐν

in the Greek, as the most general language in those days; and the signification of them both is, the *anointed*. St. Paul, and the rest of the apostles, writing in that language, used the Greek name, which the Latins did retain, calling him constantly *Christus*; and we in English have retained the same, as universally naming him *Christ*.

Nor is this yet the full interpretation of the word, which is to be understood not simply according to the action only, but as it involveth the design in the custom of anointing. For in the law whatsoever was anointed was thereby set apart, as ordained to some special use or office: and therefore under the notion of unction we must understand that promotion and ordination. "Jacob poured out oil on the top of a pillar," (Gen. xxviii. 18.) and that anointing was the consecration of it. Moses anointed the tabernacle and all the vessels, and this anointing was their dedication. Hence the priest that is anointed signifieth, in the phrase of Moses, the high priest, because he was invested in that office at and by his unction. When therefore Jesus is called the *Messias* or *Christ*, and that long after the anointing oil had ceased, it signified no less than a person set apart by God, anointed with most sacred oil, advanced to the highest office, of which all those employments under the law, in the obtaining of which oil was used, were but types and shadows. And this may suffice for the signification of the word.

That there was among the Jews an expectation of such a

μυχοῖς σάξιν ἡμεῖς, "Εως ἂν ἀρτίχριστον ἀρμόσαιμι πον, from whence Deianira says presently, ἔχρισμα μάλλω. But though it appears from hence that the first use of the word χριστός among the Greeks was to signify the act or matter used in unction, not the subject or person anointed: yet in the vulgar acceptance of the LXX. it was most constantly received for the person anointed, of the same validity with χρισταί or κρηρισμένους, (Suidas χριστός, ὁ κρηρισμένος ἢ ἑλαῖος, as also with ἡλειμμένος. For though Lactantius in the place fore-cited seems to think that word an improper version of the Hebrew מָשִׁחַ, and in quibusdam Græcis scripturis, quæ male de Hebraicis interpretatæ sunt, ἡλειμμένος, id. est, unguento curatus scriptum invenitur, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλείφασθαι, yet the LXX. have so translated it, Numb. iii. 3. οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἡλειμμένοι. And although Athenæushath observed, τῶν μύρων τὰ μὲν ἵσθι χρίσματα, τὰ δ' ἡλειμματα" yet in the

vulgar use of the words there is no difference, as he himself speaks a little after, Τὸ δὲ χρίσασθαι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἡλειμματα μύρισσασθαι σημαίνει. And Plutarch. Sympos. l. iii. c. 4. Πύθω παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν συναναπαυμένων γυναιξὶν ἡ μύρον ἡλειμμέναις ἢ ἑλαῖον ἀναπνεύουσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρίσματος ἢ τῷ συγκαθύνειν: so Hesych. Ἀλείψαι, ἑλαῖον χρίσαι. Κρηρισμένα, ἡλειμμένα. Ἀλειφῆ, χρίσις. Schol. Hom. Χρισάμεναι, ἀλειφάμεναι Od. ζ'. And Suidas, ἡλειμμένη, ἐκρίμην. Hence Eustathius, ἵσθιν καὶ ἐν ἰσοδυσμαμένῳ κατὰ τοῦτον τοῦ τι χρίω, καὶ τοῦ ἀλείφω τὸ μὲν χρίω παρὰ τὴν χρεῶν ἑρμηνείαν δεχέσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀλείφω, παρὰ τὸ ἀλίσω. Od. ζ'. So Eusebius, τρίτῃ τάξει χριστὸν αὐτὸν γινώσκειν ἑλαῖον, οὐ τὸ ἐξ ὕλης σωματόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνθὺς τῆς ἀγαλλιόσεως ἡλειμμένον παρίστησι. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 3. Χριστός then in the vulgar use of the LXX. is a person anointed, and in that sense is our Saviour called *Christ*.

Christ to come, is most evident. The woman of Samaria could speak with confidence, "I know that Messias cometh." (John iv. 25.) And the unbelieving Jews, who will not acknowledge that he is already come, expect him still. Thus we find "all men musing in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not." (Luke iii. 15.) When Jesus taught in the temple, those which doubted said, "When Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is;" (John vii. 27.) those which believed said, "When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (ver. 31.) Whether therefore they doubted, or whether they believed in Jesus, they all expected a Christ to come; and the greater their opinion was of him, the more they believed he was that Messias. "Many of the people said, Of a truth this is the prophet: others said, This is the Christ." (ver. 40, 41.) As soon as John began to baptize, "the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, Who art thou?" (John i. 19.) that is, whether he were the Christ or no, as appeareth out of his answer, "And he confessed and denied not, but confessed, I am not the Christ." (ver. 20.) For as they asked him after, "What then, Art thou Elias? and he said, I am not: Art thou that prophet? and he answered, No:" (ver. 21.) so without question their first demand was, Art thou the Christ? * and he answered, I am not: from whence it clearly appeareth that there was a general expectation among the Jews of a Messias to come; nor only so, but it was always counted among them an article of their faith, † which all were obliged to believe who professed the law of Moses, and whosoever denied that, was thereby interpreted to deny the law and the prophets. Wherefore it will be worth our inquiry to look into the grounds upon which they built that expectation.

It is most certain that the Messias was promised by God, both before and under the law. God said unto Abraham, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called:" (Gen. xxi. 12.) and we know that was a promise of a Messias to come, because St. Paul hath taught us, "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, unto seeds as of many, but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ." (Gal. iii. 16.)

* So Nonnus hath expressed, what in *οὐ πάλαις; μὴ Χριστὸς ἴσους;*—

the evangelist is to be understood; *Μυσ-* † Auctor Sepher Ikkarim, l. iv. c. ult.
τιπάλαι δ' ἔρεσαν ἀνάλογος ὅτι μὴδ', τίς Maimon. Tract. de Regibus, c. 11.

The Lord said unto Moses, "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee." (Acts iii. 22.) And St. Peter hath sufficiently satisfied us, that this prophet promised to Moses, is "Jesus the Christ." Many are the prophecies which concern him, many the promises which are made of him: but yet some of them very obscure; others, though plainer, yet have relation only to the person, not to the notion or the word *Messias*. Wheresoever he is spoken of as the anointed, it may well be first understood of some other person; except one place in Daniel, where Messiah is foretold "to be cut off:" (Dan. ix. 26.) and yet even there the Greek translation hath not the Messiah, but the *Unction*. It may therefore seem something strange, how so universal an expectation of a Redeemer under the name of the *Messias* should be spread through the church of the Jews.

But if we consider that in the space of seventy years of the Babylonish captivity the ordinary Jews had lost the exact understanding of the old Hebrew language before spoken in Judea, and therefore when the Scriptures were read unto them, they found it necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldee language, which they had lately learned: as when Ezra the scribe brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the law, because "they read in the book, in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." (Nehem. viii. 8.) Which constant interpretation begat at last a Chaldee translation of the Old Testament to be read every sabbath in the synagogues: and that being not exactly made word for word with the Hebrew, but with a liberty of a brief exposition by the way, took in, together with text, the general opinion of the learned Jews. By which means it came to pass that not only the doctrine, but the name also, of the *Messias* was very frequent and familiar with them. Inso-much that even in the Chaldee paraphrase now extant, there is express mention of the *Messias* in above seventy places, besides that of Daniel. The Jews then informed by the plain words of Daniel,* instructed by a constant interpreta-

* Celsus the Epicurean acknowledgeth that both the Jews and Christians did confess that the prophets did foretell a Saviour of the world. Οἶσται μὲν οὖν σῶμα

εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσας. πιστεύοντων μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Πνεύματος προσηφειύθη τις ἐπιδημήσων Σωτὴρ τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

tion of the law and the prophets read in their synagogues every sabbath day, relying upon the infallible predictions and promises of God, did all unanimously expect out of their own nation, of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David, a Messias, or a Christ, to come.

Now this being granted, as it cannot be denied, our next consideration is of the time in which this promise was to be fulfilled: which we shall demonstrate out of the Scriptures to be past, and, consequently, that the promised Messias is already come. The prediction of Jacob upon his death-bed is clear and pregnant, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from beneath his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be." (Gen. xlix. 10.) But the sceptre is departed from Judah, neither is there one lawgiver left between his feet. Therefore Shiloh, that is, the Messias, is already come. That the Jewish government hath totally failed, is not without the greatest folly to be denied: and therefore that Shiloh is already come, except we should deny the truth of Divine predictions, must be granted. There then remains nothing to be proved, but that by Shiloh is to be understood the Messias: which is sufficiently manifest both from the consent of the ancient Jews, and from the description immediately added to the name. For all the old paraphrasts call him expressly the *Messias*,* and the words which follow, "to him shall the gathering of the people be," speak no less; as in giving an explication of his person, office, or condition, who was but darkly described in the name of Shiloh. For this is the same character by which he was signified unto Abraham; "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed:" by which he is deciphered in Isaiah; "in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the gentiles seek; and his rest shall be glorious:" (Isa. xi. 10.) and in Micah, "The

Orig. adv. Celsum. l. iii. And this Saviour, saith Origen, was to be called *κατὰ τὰ Ἰουδαίων παράδοξα, Χριστός.*

* For instead of **עַד כִּי יָבֹא שִׁילֹה** Onkelos renders it **עַד דִּיתִי מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא** and Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum, **עַד זְמַן דִּיתִי מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא** Beside the Cabalists, did generally so interpret it, because **יָבֹא שִׁילֹה**

according to their computation, made the same number with the letters of **מְשִׁיחָא** and in the Talmud, *cod. Sanhedrim*, Rabbi Johanan asking what was the name of the Messias, they of the school of R. Schila answer, **שְׁמוֹ שִׁילֹה** his name is Shiloh, according to that which is written, until Shiloh come.

mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it." (Mic. iv. 1.) And thus the blessing of Judah is plainly intelligible: "Judah thou art he, whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies, thy father's children shall bow down before thee." (Gen. xlix. 8.) Thou shalt obtain the primogeniture of thy brother Reuben, and by virtue thereof shalt rule over the rest of the tribes: the government shall be upon thy shoulders, and all thy brethren shall be subject unto thee. And that you may understand this blessing is not to expire until it make way for a greater, know that this government shall not fail, until there come a son out of your loins, who shall be far greater than yourself: for whereas your dominion reacheth only over your brethren, and so is confined unto the tribes of Israel; his kingdom shall be universal, and all nations of the earth shall serve him. Being then this Shiloh is so described in the text, and acknowledged by the ancient Jews to be the Messiah; being God hath promised by Jacob the government of Israel should not fail until Shiloh came; being that government is visibly and undeniably already failed, it followeth inevitably, that the Messiah is already come.

In the same manner the prophet Malachi hath given an express signification of the coming of the Messiah while the temple stood. "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in."* And Haggai yet more clearly, "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations; and the desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the glory of the former, saith the Lord of hosts." (Hag. ii. 6, 7, 9.) It is then most evident from these predictions, that the Messiah was to come while the second temple stood. It is as certain that the second temple is not now standing. Therefore, except we contradict the veracity of God, it cannot be denied but the Messiah is already come. Nothing can be objected to enervate this argument, but that

* Mal. iii. 1. **הַמַּלְאָכִים יִבְרָאוּן הָאֶתְנָח** *Kimchi on the place.*

these prophecies concern not the Messias; and yet the ancient Jews confessed they did, and that they do so cannot be denied. For, first, those titles, "the angel of the covenant," "the delight of the Israelites," "the desire of all nations," are certain and known characters of the Christ to come. And, secondly, it cannot be conceived how the glory of the second temple should be greater than the glory of the first, without the coming of the Messias to it. For the Jews themselves have observed that five signs of the Divine glory were in the first temple, which were wanting to the second: as the urim and thummim, by which the high-priest was miraculously instructed of the will of God: the ark of the covenant, from whence God gave his answers by a clear and audible voice: the fire upon the altar, which came down from heaven, and immediately consumed the sacrifice: the Divine presence or habitation with them, represented by a visible appearance, or given, as it were, to the king and high-priest by anointing with the oil of unction: and, lastly, the spirit of prophecy, with which those especially who were called to the prophetical office were endued. And there was no comparison between the beauty and glory of the structure or building of it, as appeared by the tears dropped from those eyes which had beheld the former; ("For many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice." Ezra iii. 12.) and by those words which God commanded Haggai to speak to the people for the introducing of this prophecy, "Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?" (Hag. ii. 3.) Being then the structure of the second temple was so far inferior to the first; being all those signs of the Divine glory were wanting in it with which the former was adorned; the glory of it can no other way be imagined greater, than by the coming of Him into it in whom all those signs of the Divine glory were far more eminently contained: and this person alone is the Messias. For he was to be the glory of the people Israel, yea, even of the God of Israel; he the urim and thummim, by whom the will of God, as by a greater oracle, was revealed; he the true ark of the covenant, the only propitiatory by his blood; he which was to baptize with the

Holy Ghost and with fire, the true fire which came down from heaven; he which was to take up his habitation in our flesh, and to dwell among us that we might behold his glory; he who received the Spirit without measure, and from whose fulness we do all receive. In him were all those signs of the Divine glory united, which were thus divided in the first temple; in him they were all more eminently contained than in those: therefore his coming to the second temple was, as the sufficient, so the only means by which the glory of it could be greater than the glory of the first. If then the Messias was to come while the second temple stood, as appeareth by God's prediction and promise; if that temple many ages since hath ceased to be, there being not one stone left upon a stone; if it certainly were before the destruction of it in greater glory than ever the former was; if no such glory could accrue unto it but by the coming of the Messias: then is that Messias already come.

Having thus demonstrated out of the promises given to the Jews, that the Messias who was so promised unto them must be already come, because those events which were foretold to follow his coming are already past; we shall proceed unto the next particular, and prove that the man Jesus, in whom we believe, is that Messias who was promised. First, it is acknowledged, both by the Jew and gentile, that this Jesus was born in Judea, and lived and died there, before the commonwealth of Israel was dispersed, before the second temple was destroyed; that is, at the very time when the prophets foretold the Messias should come. And there was no other beside him, that did with any shew of probability pretend to be, or was accepted as the Messias. Therefore we must confess he was, and only he could be, the Christ.

Secondly, All other prophecies belonging to the Messias were fulfilled in Jesus, whether we look upon the family, the place, or the manner of his birth; neither were they ever fulfilled in any person beside him: he then is, and no other can be, the Messias. That he was to come out of the tribe of Judah and family of David, is every where manifest. The Jews, which mention Messias as a son of Joseph or of Ephraim, do not deny, but rather dignify, the Son of David, or of Judah, whom they confess to be the greater Christ.*

* The Jews have invented a double places which mention his low estate and Messias: to one they attribute all those sufferings; to the other such as speak of

"There shall come forth a rod* out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots, and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him," saith the prophet (Isaiah xi. 1.) And again, "In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious." (ver. 10.) Now who was it but Jesus of whom the elders spake, "Behold, the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David?" (Rev. v. 5.) Who but he said, "I am the root and offspring of David, and the bright and morning star?" (Rev. xxii. 16.) The Jews did all acknowledge it, as appears by the question of our Saviour, "How say the scribes that Christ is the Son of David?" (Mark xii. 35.) "What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, The Son of David?" (Matt. xxii. 42.) and that of the people, amazed at the seeing of the blind, and speaking of the dumb, "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii. 23.) The blind cried out unto him, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on us;" and the multitude cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David." (Matt. xxi. 9.) The genealogy of Jesus shews his family: the first words of the gospel are, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David." (Matt. i. 1.) The prophecy therefore was certainly fulfilled in respect of his lineage; "for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah." (Heb. vii. 14.)

Besides, if we look upon the place where the Messiah was to be born, we shall find that Jesus by a particular act of Providence was born there. "When Herod had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea." (Matt. ii. 4, 5.) The people doubted whether Jesus was the Christ, because they thought he had been born in Galilee, where Joseph and Mary lived; wherefore they said, "Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where

his power and glory. The one they style

משיח בן דוד the other משיח בן יוסף

The son of Joseph they name also the son of Ephraim, and the Son of David the son of Judah: as the Targum, Cant. iv. 5.

"Thy two breasts are like two young roes,"

תרוין מריקד משהו בר דוד ומשיח

בר אפרים Two are thy Redeemers,

Messias the Son of David, and Messias the son of Ephraim.

* Which the Chaldee paraphrase thus

יפוך מלכא מבנוי דיש ומשיחא מבני בנהוי יתדבי

A king shall come out of the sons of Jesse, and

the Messias out of his son's sons. So

Rabbi Solomon and Kimchi.

David was?" (John vii. 41, 42.) That place of Scripture which they meant was cited by the scribes to Herod, according to the interpretation then current among the Jews, and still preserved in the Chaldee paraphrase.* "For thus it is written in the prophet, And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel." (Matt. ii. 5, 6.) This prediction was most manifestly and remarkably fulfilled in the birth of Jesus, when by the providence of God it was so ordered, that Augustus should then tax the world, to which end every one should go up into his own city. Whereupon Joseph and Mary his espoused wife left Nazareth of Galilee, their habitation, and went into Bethlehem of Judea, the city of David, there to be taxed, "because they were of the house and lineage of David." (Luke ii. 4.) And, while they were there, as the days of the Virgin Mary were accomplished, so the prophecy was fulfilled; for there she brought forth her first-born son; and so unto us was born that day "in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." (Luke ii. 11.)

But if we add unto the family and place, the manner of his birth, also foretold, the argument must necessarily appear conclusive. The prophet Isaiah spake thus unto the house of David; "The Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." (Isaiah vii. 14.) What nativity could be more congruous to the greatness of a Messiah than that of a virgin, which is most miraculous? What name can be thought fitter for him than that of Immanuel, "God with us," (Isa. viii. 8.) whose land Judea is said to be? The Immanuel then thus born of a virgin was without question the true Messiah. And we know Jesus was thus born of the blessed Virgin Mary, "that it might be fulfilled which was thus spoken of the Lord by the prophet." (Matt. i. 22.) Wherefore being all the prophecies concerning the family, place, and manner of the birth of the Messiah were fulfilled in Jesus, and not so much as pretended to be accomplished in any other; it is again from hence apparent, that this Jesus is the Christ.

* Which expressly translateth it thus: *may exercise domination in Israel. So מֶלֶךְ לִי יֵצֵא מִשִּׁיחַ, Rabbi Solomon בן רוד So Kimchi and Abarbinel, מֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ.*
 מֶלֶךְ קָדְמִי יִפּוֹק מִשִּׁיחַ לְמוֹדֵי Out of thee shall come before me the Messias, that he

Thirdly, He which taught what the Messias was to teach, did what the Messias was to do, suffered what the Messias was to suffer, and by suffering obtained all which a Messias could obtain, must be acknowledged of necessity to be the true Messias. But all this is manifestly true of Jesus. Therefore we must confess he is the Christ. For, first, it cannot be denied but the Messias was promised as a prophet and teacher of the people. So God promised him to Moses; "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee." So Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea, have expressed him, as we shall hereafter have farther occasion to shew. And, not only so, but as a greater prophet, and more perfect doctor, than ever any was which preceded him, more universal than they all. "I have put my Spirit upon him, (saith God): he shall bring forth judgment to the gentiles, and the isles shall wait for his law." (Isa. xlii. 1. 4.) Now it is as evident that Jesus of Nazareth was the most perfect prophet, the Prince* and Lord of all the prophets, doctors, and pastors, which either preceded or succeeded him. For he hath revealed unto us the most perfect will of God both in his precepts and his promises. He hath delivered the same after the most perfect manner, with the greatest authority; not like Moses and the prophets, saying, "Thus saith the Lord;" but, "I say unto you;" (Matt. v. *often*.) not like the interpreters of Moses, for "he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes:" (Matt. vii. 29.) with the greatest perspicuity, not, as those before him, under types and shadows, but plainly and clearly; from whence both he and his doctrine is frequently called *light*: with the greatest universality, as preaching that gospel which is to unite all the nations of the earth into one church, that there might be one Shepherd and one flock. Whatsoever then that great prophet the Messiah was to teach, that Jesus taught; and whatsoever works he was to do, those Jesus did.

When John the Baptist had heard the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples with this message to him, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" (Matt. xi. 2, 3.) And Jesus returned this answer unto him, shewing the ground of that message, the works of Christ, was a sufficient resolution of the question sent; "Go and shew John again

* Ἀρχιερωμην, 1 Pet. v. 4. ὁ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων ὁ μέγας. Heb. xiii. 20. ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ ἐπισκοπος τῶν ψυχῶν. 1 Pet. ii.

those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up." (Matt. xi. 4, 5.) And as Jesus alleged the works which he wrought to be a sufficient testimony that he was the Messias; so did those Jews acknowledge it, who said, "When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man doeth?" (John vii. 31.) And Nicodemus, a ruler among them, confessed little less: "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." (John iii. 2.) Great and many were the miracles which Moses and the rest of the prophets wrought for the ratification of the law, and the demonstration of God's constant presence with his people; and yet all those, wrought by so many several persons, in the space of above three thousand years, are far short of those which this one Jesus did perform within the compass of three years. The ambitious diligence of the Jews hath reckoned up seventy-six miracles for Moses, and seventy-four for all the rest of the prophets: and supposing that they were so many (though indeed they were not), how few are they in respect of those which are written of our Saviour! How inconsiderable, if compared with all which he wrought! when St. John testifieth with as great certainty of truth as height of hyperbole, that "there are many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, he supposed that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." (John xxi. 25.) Nor did our Saviour excel all others in the number of his miracles only, but in the power of working. Whatsoever miracle Moses wrought, he either obtained by his prayers, or else, consulting with God, received it by command from him; so that the power of miracles cannot be conceived as immanent or inhering in him. Whereas this power must of necessity be in Jesus, "in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," (Col. ii. 9.) and "to whom the Father had given to have life in himself." (John v. 26.) This he sufficiently shewed by working with a word, by commanding the winds to be still, the devils to fly, and the dead to rise: by working without a word or any intervenient sign; as when the woman which "had an issue of blood twelve years touched his garment, and straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up" (Mark v. 25. 29.)

by the virtue which flowed out from the greater fountain of his power. And, lest this example should be single, we find that the men of Gennesaret, (Matt. xiv. 34. 36.) the "people out of all Judea and Jerusalem, and from the sea-coast of Tyre and Sidon, even the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all." (Luke vi. 17. 19.) Once indeed Christ seemed to have prayed, before he raised Lazarus from the grave, but even that was done "because of the people which stood by:" (John xi. 42.) not that he had not power within himself to raise up Lazarus, who was afterward to raise himself; but "that they might believe the Father had sent him." The immanency and inherency of this power in Jesus is evident in this, that he was able to communicate it to whom he pleased, and actually did confer it upon his disciples: "Behold I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy." (Luke x. 19.) Upon the apostles: "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give." (Matt. x. 8.) Upon the first believers: "These signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils." (Mark xvi. 17.) He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do." (John xiv. 12.) He then which did more actions Divine and powerful than Moses and all the prophets ever did, he which performed them in a manner far more Divine than that by which they wrought, hath done all which can be expected the Messias, foretold by them, should do.

Nor hath our Jesus only done, but suffered, all which the Messias was to suffer. For we must not with the Jews deny a suffering Christ, or fondly of our own invention make a double Messias, one to suffer, and another to reign. It is clear enough by the prophet Isaiah what his condition was to be, whom he calls the "servant of God:" (Isa. lii. 13.) and the later Jews cannot deny but their fathers constantly understood that place of the Messias.*

* For, first, instead of those words, *this of the Messias*. And the reason which "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently," the Targum hath it plainly, **עֲבַדִּי מְשִׁיחָא הוּא** Behold, my Son the Messias shall prosper. And Solomon Jarchi on the place: **רְבוּתֵנוּ מִקֵּמִי לֵה בְּמִשְׁחִי** Our rabbins understand he renders of their interpretation is very observable. For they say, (says he) that the Messias is stricken, as it is written, "He took our infirmities, and bare our griefs;" which are the words of the 4th verse of the 53d chapter. From whence we may perceive how the ancient Jews

Now the sufferings of Christ spoken of by the prophet may be reduced to two parts: one in respect of contempt, by which he was despised of men; the other in respect of his death, and all those indignities and pains which preceded and led unto it. For the first, the prophet hath punctually described his condition, saying, "He hath no form or comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men." (Isa. liii. 2, 3.) He seems to describe a personage no way amiable, an aspect indeed rather uncomely:* and so the most ancient writers have interpreted Isaiah,† and confessed the fulfilling of it in the body of our Saviour. But what the as-

did join the latter part of the 52d chapter with the 53d, and expound them of the same person. Beside, he cites a certain midrash, or gloss, which attributes the same verse to the Messias, and that is to be found in Bereshit Rabba, upon Gen. xxviii. 10. where, falling upon that place in Zech. iv. 7. "What art thou, O great mountain, before Zerubbabel?" he answers, **הר גדול זה משיח** that

הר גדול זה משיח that *great mountain is the Messias*. Then asking again, Why doth he call the Messias a great mountain? he gives this answer, **שדיא גדול מן האבות שנ'הנה**

שדיא גדול מן האבות שנ'הנה *Because he is greater than the fathers, as it is written, Behold, my servant shall understand, that is, the Messias: which are the words of the verse before cited. And the same Bereshit Rabba, upon Gen. xiv. 67. saith: Messias the King was in the generation of the wicked; that he gave himself to seek for mercies for Israel, and to fasting and humbling himself for them, as it is written; and so produceth the words of Isa. liii. 5. From whence it appears again, that the author thereof interpreted both the chapters of the same Messias. And farther it is observable that the midrash upon Ruth ii. 14. expounds the same verse in the same manner. And Rabbi Moses Alshech speaks yet more fully of the consent of the ancient Jewish doctors upon this*

הנה דר' פה אחד קיימו
וקבלו כי על מלך המשיח דבר
Behold, our doctors of happy memory conclude with one mouth, as they have received from their ancestors, that this is spoken of the Messias. From hence it appears, that it was originally the general sense of the Jews, that all that piece of Isaiah is a description of the Messias, and conse-

quently that the apostles cannot be blamed by them now for applying it to Christ; and that the modern Jews may well be suspected to frame their contrary expositions out of a wilful opposition to Christianity.

* The first **ל' חאר לו** seems to signify no less, as being from the root **תאר** which signifieth to *form, figure, fashion, or delineate*; from whence the noun attributed to any person signifieth the feature, complexion, shape, or composition of the body: as Rachel was **יפה תאר**, *forma pulchra*, Gen. xxix. 17. and so Joseph **יפה תאר**, Gen. xxxix. 6. so Abigail and Esther, and in general, Deut. xxi. 11. with an addition of *fair* added to **תאר**, whereas David is called, without such addition, **איש תאר**, but with the full signification of *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τῷ σῶμα*, in Judges viii. 18. **אחד כתאר**

אחד כתאר *ὁμοίωμα υἱοῦ βασιλέως*, so the Roman; but the Aldus and Complut. better; *ὡς εἶδος υἱὸν βασιλέως* according to that verse of Euripides cited by Athenæus and Porphyrius, *Πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος*. The Messias was to be a king, whose external form and personage spake no such majesty.

† As Justin Martyr, p. 232. *Οἱ μὲν εἰρηναῖοι εἰς τὴν πρότερον παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἄτιμος, καὶ ἀειδὴς, καὶ θνητὸς φανήσονται κακουργήματος ἔσθιν. Ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλιν, καὶ νομιζομένου ἰσοφ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱοῦ ὑπάρχον, καὶ ἀειδοῦς, ὡς, αἱ γραφαὶ ἐκτίθενται, φανομένου. Dial. cum Tryph. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀρχόντες ἔσονται ἀειδὴ καὶ ἄτιμον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἀδοξον ἔχοντα αὐτὸν, οὐ νομιζόντες αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότατον. Τίς ἐστὶν αὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Ibid. And Clem. Alex. Τὸν δὲ κύριον αὐτὸν τῆς δόξης αἰσχυρὸν γινώσκοντες διὰ Ἡσαίου τὸ Πνεῦμα μαρτυρεῖ. Καὶ εἰδομέν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ εἰχον*

equal with God : yet he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant." (Phil. ii. 6, 7.) For thirty years he lived with his mother Mary and Joseph his reputed father, of a mean profession, and was "subject to them." (Luke ii. 51.) When he left his mother's house, and entered on his prophetic office, he passed from place to place, sometimes received into a house, other times lodging in the fields: for while the "foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, the Son of man had not where to lay his head." (Matt. viii. 20.) For this low estate of life and condition, seemingly inglorious, arose in the Jews a neglect of his works, and contempt of his doctrine. "Is not this the carpenter's son?" (Matt. xiii. 55.) nay, farther, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?*" and they were offended at him." (Mark vi. 2.) Thus was it fulfilled in him, "he was despised and rejected of men, and they esteemed him not."

This contempt of his personage, condition, doctrine, and works, was by degrees raised to hatred, detestation and persecution, to a cruel and ignominious death. All which if we look upon in the gross, we must acknowledge it fulfilled in him to the highest degree imaginable, that he was "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." (Isa. liii. 3.) But if we compare the particular predictions with the historical passages of his sufferings; if we join the prophets and evangelists together, it will most manifestly appear the Messiah was to suffer nothing which Christ hath not suffered. If Zachary say, "they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver;" (Zach. xi. 12.) St. Matthew will shew that Judas sold Jesus at the same rate; for the chief priests "covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver." (Matt. xxvi. 15.) If Isaiah say, that "he was wounded;" (Isa. liii. 5.) if Zachary, "they shall look upon me whom they have pierced;" (Zach. xii. 10.) if the prophet David, yet more particularly, "they pierced my hands and my feet;" (Psal. xxii. 16.) the evangelists will shew how he was fastened to the cross, and Jesus himself "the print of the nails." (John xx. 25.) If the Psalmist tells us, they "should laugh him to scorn, and shake their head, saying, He trusted in the Lord that he would deliver him; let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him;" (Psal. xxii. 7, 8.) St. Matthew will describe the same action, and the same

* Καὶ τέκτονος νομιστομένου· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὢν, ἄστρον καὶ ζυγόν. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph.

expression: for "they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, He trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he will have him; for he said I am the Son of God." (Matt. xxvii. 39. 43.) Let David say, "my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Psal. xxii. 1.) And the Son of David will shew in whose person the Father spake it, "Eli, Eli, Lama sabacthani." (Matt. xxvii. 46.) Let Isaiah foretel, "he was numbered with the transgressors;" (Isa. liii. 12.) and you shall find him "crucified between two thieves, one on his right hand, the other on his left." (Mark xv. 27.) Read in the Psalmist, "in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink;" (Psal. lxix. 21.) and you shall find in the evangelist, "Jesus, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, said, I thirst: and they took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink." (John xix. 28.) Read farther yet, "they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture;" (Matt. xxvii. 48. Psal. xxii. 18.) and, to fulfil the prediction, the soldiers shall make good the distinction, "who took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be." (John xix. 23, 24.) Lastly, let the prophets teach us, that "he shall be brought like a lamb to the slaughter, and be cut off out of the land of the living;" (Isa. liii. 7, 8.) all the evangelists will declare how like a lamb he suffered, and the very Jews will acknowledge, that he was cut off: and now may we well conclude, "Thus it is written, and thus it behoveth the Christ to suffer;" (Luke xxiv. 46.) and what it so behoved him to suffer that he suffered.

Neither only in his passion, but after his death, all things were fulfilled in Jesus which were prophesied concerning the Messias. "He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death," (Isa. liii. 9) saith the prophet of the Christ to come: and as the thieves were buried with whom he was crucified, so was Jesus, but laid in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor. "After two days will he revive us, in the third day he will raise us up," saith Hosea (vi. 2.) of the people of Israel: in whose language they were the type of Christ; (Hos. xi. 1.) and the third day Jesus rose from the dead. "The Lord said unto my Lord, (saith David) Sit thou at my right hand. (Psal.

cx. i.) Now "David is not ascended into the heavens," (Acts ii. 34.) and consequently cannot be set at the right hand of God; but Jesus is already ascended and set down at the right hand of God: and so "all the house of Israel might know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom they crucified, both Lord and Christ." (ver. 36.) For he who taught whatsoever the Messias, promised by God, foretold by the prophets, expected by the people of God, was to teach; he who did all which that Messias was by virtue of that office to do; he which suffered all those pains and indignities which that Messias was to suffer; he to whom all things happened after his death, the period of his sufferings, which were according to the Divine predictions to come to pass; he, I say, must infallibly be the true Messias. But Jesus alone taught, did, suffered and obtained all these things, as we have shewed. Therefore we may again infallibly conclude, that our *Jesus* is the *Christ*.

Fourthly, If it were the proper note and character of the Messias, that all nations should come in to serve him; if the doctrine of Jesus hath been preached and received in all parts of the world, according to that character so long before delivered; if it were absolutely impossible that the doctrine revealed by Jesus should have been so propagated as it hath been, had it not been Divine; then must this Jesus be the Messias: and when we have proved these three particulars, we may safely conclude he is the *Christ*.

That all nations were to come in to the Messias, and so the distinction between the Jew and gentile to cease at his coming, is the most universal description in all the prophecies. God speaks to him thus, as to his son; "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." (Psal. ii. 8.) It was one greater than Solomon of whom these words were spoken, "All kings shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him." (Psal. lxxii. 11.) "It shall come to pass in the last days, (saith Isaiah,) that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it." (Isa. ii. 2.) And again, "In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the gentiles seek." (Isai. xi. 10.) And in general all the prophets were but instruments to deliver the same

message, which Malachi concludes from God: "From the rising of the sun, even to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts." (Mal. i. 11.) Now being the bounds of Judea were settled, being the promise of God was to bring all nations in at the coming of the Messias, being this was it which the Jews so much opposed, as loath to part from their ancient and peculiar privilege; he which actually wrought this work must certainly be the Messias: and that Jesus did it, is most evident.

That all nations did thus come in to the doctrine preached by Jesus, cannot be denied. For although he were "not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" (Matt. xv. 24.) although of those many Israelites, which believed on him while he lived, very few were left immediately after his death: yet when the apostles had received their commission from him to "go teach all nations," (Matt. xxviii. 19.) and were "endued with power from on high" (Luke xxiv. 49.) by the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost; the first day there was an accession of "three thousand souls;" (Acts ii. 41.) immediately after we find "the number of the men, beside women, was about five thousand;" (Acts iv. 4.) and still "believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women." (Acts v. 14.) Upon the persecution at Jerusalem, they went through the "regions of Judea, Galilee and Samaria," (Acts ix. 31.) and so the gospel spread; insomuch that St. James the bishop of Jerusalem spake thus unto St. Paul, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands (or rather, how many myriads, that is, ten thousands) of the Jews there are which believe."* Beside, how great was the number of the believing Jews strangers, scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia, and the rest of the Roman provinces, will appear out of the epistles of St. Peter, St. James and St. John. And yet all these are nothing to the fulness of the gentiles which came after. First, those which were before gentile worshippers, acknowledging the same God with the Jews, but not receiving the law; who had before abandoned their old idolatry, and already embraced the true doctrine of one God, and did confess the Deity which

* Acts xxi. 20. *οἱ οὖτοι μυριάδες.*

the Jews did worship to be that only true God ; but yet refused to be circumcised, and so to oblige themselves to the keeping of the whole law. Now the apostles preaching the same God with Moses whom they all acknowledged, and teaching that circumcision and the rest of the legal ceremonies were now abrogated, which those men would never admit, they were with the greatest facility converted to the Christian faith. For being present at the synagogues of the Jews, and understanding much of the law, they were of all the gentiles readiest to hear, and most capable of the arguments which the apostles produced out of the Scriptures to prove that Jesus was the Christ. Thus many of the Greeks which came up to worship at Jerusalem, (John xii. 20.) “devout men out of every nation under heaven,” (Acts ii. 5.) not men of Israel, but yet fearing God, did first embrace the Christian faith. After them the rest of the gentiles left the idolatrous worship of their heathen gods, and in a short time in infinite multitudes received the gospel. How much did Jesus work by one St. Paul to the obedience of the gentiles by word and deed? (Rom. xv. 18, 19.) How did he pass from Jerusalem round about through Phœnice, Syria and Arabia, through Asia, Achaia, and Macedonia, even to Illyricum, fully preaching the gospel of Christ? How far did others pass beside St. Paul, that he should speak even of his time, that the gospel was preached to every creature under heaven? (Coloss. i. 23.) Many were the nations, innumerable the people, which received the faith in the apostles’ days : and in not many years after, notwithstanding millions were cut off in their bloody persecutions, yet did their numbers equalize half the Roman empire :* and little above two ages after the death of the last apostle, the emperors of the world

* *Visa est mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum et vocabantur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros, superstitionis intus contagio pervagata est. Plin. Epist. ad Trajanum. Tanta hominum multitudo, pars penè major civitatis cujusque, in silentio et modestia agimus. Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 3. Si hostes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni, ipsique Parthi, vel quæcunque unius tamen loci et suorum fini-*

um gentes, quàm totius orbis? Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Id. Apolog. c. 36. Potuimus et inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius invidiæ adversus divortii vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abruptissemus a vobis, suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destitutione panisset: proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, et stuporem quandam quasi mortuæ urbis; quæsissetis quibus in ea imperas-

gave in their names to Christ, and submitted their sceptres to his laws, that the gentiles might come to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising; (Isa. lx. 3.) that kings might become the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers (Isa. xlix. 23.) of the church.

From hence it came to pass, that according to all the predictions of the prophets, the one God of Israel, the maker of heaven and earth, was acknowledged through the world for the only true God: that the law given to Israel was taken for the true law of God, but as given to that people and so to cease when they ceased to be a people; except the moral part thereof, which, as an universal rule common to all people, is still acknowledged for the law of God, given unto all, and obliging every man: that all the oracles of the heathen gods, in all places where Christianity was received, did presently cease, and all the idols or the gods themselves, were rejected and condemned as spurious. For the Lord of hosts had spoken concerning those times expressly; "it shall come to pass in that day, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land." (Zach. xiii. 2.)

Now being this general reception of the gospel was so anciently, so frequently foretold, being the same was so clearly and universally performed; even this might seem sufficient to persuade that *Jesus is Christ*. But lest any should not yet be fully satisfied, we shall farther shew, that it is impossible Jesus should have been so received for the true Messias, had he not been so; or that his doctrine, which teacheth him to be the *Christ*, should be admitted by all nations for Divine, had it not been such. For whether we look upon the nature of the doctrine taught, the condition of the teachers of it, or the manner in which it was taught, it can no way seem probable, that it should have had any such success, without the immediate working of the hand of God, acknowledging Jesus for his Son, the doctrine for his own, and the fulfilling by the hands of the apostles what he had foretold by the prophets.

As for the nature of the doctrine, it was no way likely to

setis. *Id. ibid.* And Irenæus, who wrote before Tertullian, and is mentioned by him, speaks of the Christians in his time living in the court of Rome: "Quid autem et hi qui in regali aula sunt fideles? nonne ex eis quæ Cæsaris sunt, habent utensilia, et hi qui non habent, unusquisque secundam suam virtutem præstat?"

have any such success. For, first, it absolutely condemned all other religions, settled and corroborated by a constant succession of many ages, under which many nations and kingdoms, and especially at that time the Roman, had signally flourished. Secondly, it contained precepts far more ungrateful and troublesome to flesh and blood, and contrariant to the general inclination of mankind; as the abnegation of ourselves, the mortifying of the flesh, the love of our enemies, and the bearing of the cross. Thirdly, it enforced those precepts seemingly unreasonable, by such promises as were seemingly incredible and unperceivable. For they were not of the good things of this world, or such as afford any complacency to our sense; but of such as cannot be obtained till after this life: and necessarily presuppose that which then seemed as absolutely impossible, the resurrection. Fourthly, it delivered certain predictions which were to be fulfilled in the persons of such as should embrace it, which seem sufficient to have kept most part of the world from listening to it, as dangers, losses, afflictions, tribulations; and, in sum, "all that would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution." (2 Tim. iii. 12.)

If we look upon the teachers of this doctrine, there appeared nothing in them which could promise any success. The first revealer and promulger bred in the house of a carpenter, brought up at the feet of no professor, despised by the high-priests, the scribes and Pharisees, and all the learned in the religion of his nation; in the time of his preaching apprehended, bound, buffeted, spit upon, condemned, crucified; betrayed in his life by one disciple, denied by another; at his death distrusted by all. What advantage can we perceive towards the propagation of the gospel in this author of it, "Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness?" (1 Cor. i. 23.) What in those which followed him, sent by him, and thence called apostles, men by birth obscure, by education illiterate, by profession low and inglorious? How can we conceive that all the schools and universities of the world should give way to them, and the kingdoms and empires should at last come in to them, except their doctrine were indeed Divine, except that Jesus, whom they testified to be the Christ, were truly so?

If we consider the manner in which they delivered this doctrine to the world, it will add no advantage to their per-

sons, or advance the probability of success. For in their delivery they used no such rhetorical expressions, or ornaments of eloquence, to allure or entice the world; they affected no such subtilty of wit, or strength of argumentation, as thereby to persuade or convince men; they made use of no force or violence to compel, no corporal menaces to affright mankind unto a compliance. But in a plain simplicity of words they nakedly delivered what they had seen and heard, "preaching, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit." (1 Cor. ii.4.) It is not then rationally imaginable, that so many nations should forsake their own religions so many ages professed, and brand them all as damnable, only that they might embrace such precepts as were most unacceptable to their natural inclinations, and that upon such promises as seemed not probable to their reason, nor could have any influence on their sense, and notwithstanding those predictions which did assure them, upon the receiving of that doctrine, to be exposed to all kind of misery: that they should do this upon the authority of him who for the same was condemned and crucified, and by the persuasion of them who were both illiterate and obscure: that they should be enticed with words without eloquence, convinced without the least subtilty, constrained without any force. I say, it is no way imaginable how this should come to pass, had not the doctrine of the gospel, which did thus prevail, been certainly Divine; had not the light of the Word, which thus dispelled the clouds of all former religions, come from heaven; had not that Jesus, "the author and finisher of our faith," been the true Messias.

To conclude this discourse. He who was in the world at the time when the Messias was to come, and no other at that time or since pretended; he who was born of the same family, in the same place, after the same manner, which the prophets foretold of the birth of the Messias: he which taught all those truths, wrought all those miracles, suffered all those indignities, received all that glory, which the Messias was to teach, do, suffer, and receive; he whose doctrine was received in all nations, according to the character of the Messias; he was certainly the true Messias. But we have already sufficiently shewed that all these things are exactly fulfilled in Jesus, and in him alone. We must therefore ac-

knowledge and profess, that this *Jesus* is the promised *Messias* that is, the *Christ*.

Having thus manifested the truth of this proposition, *Jesus is the Christ*, and shewed the interpretation of the word *Christ* to be *anointed*: we find it yet necessary, for the explication of this article,* to inquire what was the end or immediate effect of his unction, and how or in what manner he was anointed to that end.

For the first, as the *Messias* was foretold, so was he typified: nor were the actions prescribed under the law less predictive than the words of the prophets. Nay,† whosoever were then anointed, were therefore so, because he was to be anointed. Now it is evident, that among the Jews they were wont to anoint those which were appointed as kings over them:‡ so “Samuel said unto Saul, The Lord sent me to anoint thee to be king over his people, over Israel.” (1 Sam. xv. 1.) When Saul was rejected, and David produced before Samuel, “the Lord said, Arise, anoint him, for this is he.” (1 Sam. xvi. 12.) And some may have contented themselves with this,§ that the *Messias* was to be a king. But not only the kings, but beside and long before them, the high-priests were also anointed; insomuch as the anointed,|| in their common language, signified their high-priest. And because these two were most constantly anointed, therefore divers have thought it sufficient to assert, that the *Messias*

* In Christi nomine subauditur qui unxit, et ipse qui unctus est, et ipsa unctio in qua unctus est. *Iren.* l. iii. c. 20.

† Οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντες καὶ οἱ χριστοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον μετρίων καὶ βασιλεῖς λαλεῖσθαι καὶ χριστοὶ. *Iust. Mart. Dial.*

‡ Christus a chrismate dicitur: quia sicut antiqui reges a sacerdotibus oleo sacro profundebantur, sic Christus Sp. S. infusione repletus est. *Author. Ser.* 131. *de Temp.*

§ Sicut nunc Romanis indumentum purpuree inigne est regie dignitatis assumptæ: sic illis unctio sacri unguentii nomen ac potestatem regiam conferebat. *Lactan.* l. iv. c. 7.

|| For though at the first the sons of Aaron were anointed as well as Aaron, as appears, *Exod.* xl. 15. “Thou shalt anoint them as thou didst anoint their father, that they may administer to me in the priest’s office:” yet they were not after anointed, but the successors of Aaron only: for, saith the text, “Their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priest-

hood throughout their generations:” and, therefore, after this first anointing they shall need no more, only the successors in the high-priesthood shall reiterate the unction: from whence the priest that is anointed afterwards signified the high-priest, as *Lev.* iv. 3. *יִזְכֶּרֶן הַמִּשְׁחָן*

LXX. δ ἀρχιερεὺς δ ἀρχιερεὺς, by way of explication; whereas, verses the 5th and 16th of the same chapter, and vi. 22, they render it a bare translation, δ ἱερεὺς δ ἱερεὺς: which by the vulgar Latin is translated, Sacerdos qui jure patri succederet, because no other but the son, which succeeded the father in the office of the high-priest, was afterwards anointed: as the Arabic—et similiter sacerdos successor de filiis suis. For in the anointing of Aaron

and his sons, *נִמְשַׁח בְּכָל הַבָּנִים אַחֲרָיהֶם לַחֲיוֹת כֹּהֲנִים וְלֹא יִהְיֶה לְמִשְׁחָא אֶחָד כִּי אוֹב כֹּהֵן*

Levi Ben. Gerson. 1 Kings i.

was to be a king and a priest.* But being not only the high-priests and kings were actually anointed (though they principally and most frequently); for “the Lord said unto Elias, Go anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel, and Elisha the son of Shaphat shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room:” (1 Kings xix. 15, 16.) Therefore hence it hath been concluded that the three offices of prophet, priest, and king, belonged to Jesus as the Christ,† and that upon good reason. For the commonwealth of Israel was totally ordered and disposed, both in the constitution and administration of it, for and with respect unto the Messias. The constitution of that people was made by a sejunction and separation of them from all other nations on the earth: and this began in Abraham, with a peculiar promise of a seed in whom all the nations should be blessed, and be united into one religion. That promised seed was the Messias, the type of whom was Isaac. This separation was continued by the administration of that commonwealth, which was a royal priesthood: and that administration of the people did consist in three functions, prophetic, regal, sacerdotal; all which had respect unto the Messias,‡ as the scope of all the prophets, and the complement of their prophecies, as the Lord of the temple, and the end of all the sacrifices for which the temple was erected, as the heir of an eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, and of the throne of David, or an everlasting kingdom. Being then the separation was to cease

* As Lactan. *Erat Judæis ante præceptum, ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent ii, qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium vel ad regnum.* l. iv. c. 7. And St. Aug. *Prioribus Veteris Testamenti temporibus ad duas solas personas pertinuit unctio.* Enar. 2. *Psal. xxi.* Christus vel Pontificale vel Regium nomen est. Nam prius et Pontifices unguento chrismatis consecrabantur et Reges. Ruff. in *Symb.*

† Τοῦτο τὸ χρίσμα μὴ μόνον Ἀρχιερεῖσι παραδοθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφῆταις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο χρῆσθαι μὴσιν ἔξιν ἦν τῇ μύρῳ. Euseb. *Demonst. Evang.* l. iv. c. 15. et *Hist. l. i. c. 4.* Wherefore St. Augustine, recollecting a place, in his eighty-three questions, in which he had taught the two fishes in the gospel, “duas illas personas significare quibus populus ille regebatur, ut per eas conciliorum moderamen acciperet, regiam scilicet et sacerdotalem, ad quas etiam sa-

crossanota illa unctio pertinebat,” makes this particular retraction; “Dicendum potius fuit, maxime pertinebat, quoniam unctos aliquando legimus et prophetas.” *Retract. l. i. c. 26.*

‡ Οὐ μόνους δὲ ἀρα τοὺς ἀρχιερασίῃ τιτι-
μημένους τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατεύσκει παρ’
Ἑβραίους θεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βασιλείας οὐς
καὶ αὐτοὺς, πνεύματι Διῷ προφῆταις χρῆσαν-
τες, εἰκονικοῦς τινὰς Χριστοῦς ἀπεικονίζοντο
ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτοί, τῆς τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀληθοῦς
Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κατὰ πάντας βασιλεύοντος Διῷ
λόγου, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τοῖς
τύποις δι’ αὐτῶν ἔφερον ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
προφητῶν τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος Χριστοῦς ἐν τύ-
πῳ γινώσκεινται παρειλήφαμεν ὡς τοῦτους ἀπαν-
τας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν, τὸν ἑῷθεν
καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον, ἀναφορὰν ἔχον μόνον ἀρχιε-
ρία τῶν ὁλων, καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης τῆς κτίσεως
βασιλεία, καὶ μόνον προφητῶν ἀρχιπροφῆτην
τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνοντα. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*
l. i. c. 3.

at the coming of the Messias, being that could not cease so long as the administration of that people stood, being that administration did consist in those three functions, it followeth that those three were to be united in the person of the Messias, who was to make all one, and consequently, that the Christ was to be prophet, priest, and king.

Again, the redemption or salvation which the Messias was to bring, consisteth in the freeing of a sinner from the state of sin and eternal death, into a state of righteousness and eternal life. Now a freedom from sin in respect of the guilt could not be wrought without a sacrifice propitiatory, and therefore there was a necessity of a priest; a freedom from sin in respect of the dominion could not be obtained without a revelation of the will of God, and of his wrath against all ungodliness, therefore there was also need of a prophet; a translation from the state of death into eternal life is not to be effected without absolute authority and irresistible power, therefore a king was also necessary. The Messias, then, the Redeemer of Israel, was certainly anointed for that end, that he might become prophet, priest, and king. And if we believe him whom we call *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour and Redeemer, to be *Christ*, we must assert him by his unction sent to perform all these three offices.

That Jesus was anointed to the prophetic office, though we need no more to prove it than the prediction of Isaiah. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor;" (Isa. lxi. 1.) the explication of our Saviour, "This day is the Scripture fulfilled in your ears;" (Luke iv. 21, 22.) and the confession of the synagogue at Nazareth, who all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth; yet we are furnished with more ample and plentiful demonstrations; for whether we consider his preparation, his mission, or his administration, all of them speak him fully to have performed it. To Jeremiah indeed God said, "Before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations;" (Jer. i. 5.) and of John the Baptist, "He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb." (Luke i. 15.) And if these became singular prophets by their preparative sanctification, how much more eminent must his prophetic preparation be, to whose mother it is said, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the

Highest shall overshadow thee?" (Luke i. 35.) If the Levites must be "thirty years old, every one that came to do the service of the ministry," (Numb. iv. 47.) Jesus will not enter upon the public administration of this office "till he begin to be about thirty years of age." (Luke iii. 23.) Then doth the "Holy Ghost descend in a bodily shape like a dove upon him:" then must a voice come "from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased." Never such preparations, never such an inauguration of a prophet.

As for his mission, never any was confirmed with such letters of credence, such irrefragable testimonials, as the formal testimony of John the Baptist, and the more virtual testimony of his miracles. "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord," saith God by Malachi. (iv. 5.) And John went "before him in the spirit of Elias," (Luke i. 17.) saith another Malachi, even an angel from heaven. This John, or Elias, saw the Spirit descend on Jesus, "and bare record, that this is the Son of God." (John i. 34.) The Jews took notice of this testimony, who "said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come unto him;" (John iii. 26.) and Jesus himself puts them in mind of it, "Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth;" (John v. 33.) nay, they themselves confessed his testimony to be undeniable, "John did no miracle, but all things that John spake of this man were true." (John x. 41.) But though the witness of John were thus cogent, yet the testimony of miracles was far more irrefragable; "I have greater witness than that of John (saith our Saviour); for the works which my Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." (John v. 36.) Notwithstanding the precedent record of John, Jesus requireth not an absolute assent unto his doctrine without his miracles: "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not." (John x. 37, 38.) But upon them he challengeth belief: "But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." If then Moses and other prophets, to whom God gave the power of miracles, did assert their mission to be from God by the Divine works which they wrought; much more efficacious to this purpose must the miracles of Jesus

appear, who wrought more wonders than they all. Never therefore was there so manifest a mission of a prophet.

Now the prophetical function consisteth in the promulgation, confirmation, and perpetuation of the doctrine containing the will of God for the salvation of man. And the perfect administration of the office must be attributed unto Jesus. For "no man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." (John i. 18.) He gave unto the apostles the words which his Father gave him. (John xvii. 8. 14.) Therefore he hath revealed the perfect will of God. The confirmation of this doctrine cannot be denied him, who lived a most innocent and holy life to persuade it, for "he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;" (1 Pet. ii. 22.) who wrought most powerful and Divine works to confirm it, and was thereby known to be "a teacher from God;" (John iii. 2.) who died a most painful and shameful death to ratify it, "witnessing a good confession before Pontius Pilate;" (1 Tim. vi. 13.) which in itself unto that purpose efficacious, was made more evidently operative in the raising of himself from death. The propagation and perpetual succession of this doctrine must likewise be attributed unto Jesus, as to no temporary or accidental prophet, but as to him who instituted and instructed all who have any relation to that function. For the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets: and when he ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men. (1 Pet. i. 11.) For "he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." (Eph. iv. 8. 11, 12.) It is then most apparent that Jesus was so far Christ, as that he was anointed to the prophetical office, because his preparation for that office was most remarkable, his mission unto that office was undeniable, his administration of that office was infallible.

Now as Jesus was anointed with the unction of Elizæus to the prophetical, so was he also with the unction of Aaron to the sacerdotal office. Not that he was called after the order of Aaron; "for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood:" (Heb. vii. 14. 21.) but after a more ancient order, according to the prediction of the Psalmist, "the Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after

the order of Melchizedek." But though he were of another order, yet whatsoever Aaron did as a priest was wholly typical, and consequently to be fulfilled by the Messias, as he was a priest. For the priesthood did not begin in Aaron, but was translated and conferred upon his family before his consecration. We read of "the priests which came near the Lord;" (Exod. xix. 22.) of "young men of the children of Israel which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord:" (Exod. xxiv. 5.) which without question were no other than the first-born,* to whom the priesthood did belong. Jesus, therefore, as the first begotten of God, was by right a priest, and being anointed unto that office, performed every function, by way of oblation, intercession, and benediction. "Every high-priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man Jesus, if he be a high-priest, have somewhat also to offer." (Heb. viii. 3.) Not that he had any thing beside himself, or that there was any peculiar sacrifice allowed to this priest; to whom, "when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me:" (Heb. x. 5.) and, "by the offering of this body of Jesus Christ are we sanctified." (Heb. x. 10.) For he who is our priest hath "given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour.†

Now when Jesus had thus given himself a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, he ascended up on high, and entered into the holy of holies not made with hands, and there appeared before God as an atonement for our sin. Nor is he prevalent only in his own oblation once offered, but in his constant intercession. "Who is he that condemneth (saith the apostle), it is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God; who also maketh intercession for us." (Rom. viii. 34.) Upon this foundation he buildeth our persuasion, that "he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." (Heb. vii. 25.) Nor must we look upon this as a servile or precarious,‡ but rather as an

* For the Hebrew *בְּכֹרִית* signifying *juvenes*, by all the Targums is rendered *בְּכֹרִית* that is *primogeniti*: and so the Arabic and Persian translations.

† Eph. v. 2. Unus ipse erat qui offerebat et quod offerebat, St. Aug. Unum cum

illo manebat cui offerebat, unum in se fecit pro quibus offerebat; unus ipse erat qui offerebat et quod offerebat. *Id de Trinit. Rom. viii. 34.*

‡ Παράκλητον ἔχομεν Ἰησοῦν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προκαταλινοῦμεν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ προσ-

efficacious and glorious intercession, as of him to whom all power is given both in heaven and earth. Besides these offerings and intercedings, there was something more required of the priest, and that is blessing. "Aaron was separated, that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name for ever. (1 Chron. xxiii. 13.) We read of no other sacerdotal act performed by Melchizedek the priest of the most high God, but only that of blessing, and that in respect both of God and man: First, "He blessed *man*, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth: *then*, Blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand." (Gen. xiv. 19, 20.) Now it is observable what the rabbins have delivered, that at the morning sacrifice the priests under the law did bless the people with the solemn form of benediction, but at the evening sacrifice they blessed them not; to shew that in the evening of the world, the last days, which are the days of the Messias, the benediction of the law should cease, and the blessing of the Christ take place. When Zachariah the priest, the father of John Baptist, the forerunner of our Saviour, "executed his office before God in the order of his course," (Luke i. 8. 21, 22.) and the whole multitude of the people waited for him, to receive his benediction, he could not speak unto them, for he was dumb; shewing the power of benediction was now passing to another and far greater priest, even to Jesus, whose doctrine in the mount begins with *blessed*; who, when he left his disciples, "lift up his hands and blessed them." (Luke xxiv. 50.) And yet this function is principally performed after his resurrection, as it is written, "unto you first, God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning every one of you from his iniquities." It cannot then be denied that Jesus, who offered up himself a most perfect sacrifice and oblation for sin, who still maketh continual intercession for us, who was raised from the dead, that he might bless us with an everlasting benediction, is a most true and most perfect priest.

The third office belonging to the Messias was the regal,

πρώτιστα δουλικῶς ἀπαγὰ τῶν δούλων ὄντως
 ὑπώνυμιαν καὶ ἀναξίαν τοῦ πνεύματος οὐτε γὰρ
 τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦτο ἐπιζητεῖν, οὐτε τοῦ υἱοῦ πά-
 ρα κλητῆς. St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 36.
 σχεῖν, ἡ ὡς περὶ θεοῦ διανοήσθαι δοκιμὴν· ἀλλ'

οἷς πέποιθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, πείθει καρτερεῖν ὡς
 λόγος καὶ παραινέτης, τοῦτο νοεῖται μοι ἡ πα-

as appeareth by the most ancient tradition of the Jews,* and by the express predictions of the prophets. "Yet have I set my king (saith the Psalmist,) upon my holy hill of Sion." (Psal. ii. 6.) "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder," saith the prophet Isaiah, (ix. 6.) who calleth him the "Prince of peace," shewing the perpetuity of his power, and particularity of his seat. "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever." (ver. 7.) All which most certainly belongs unto our *Jesus*, by the unerring interpretation of the angel Gabriel, who promised the blessed Virgin that the Lord God should give unto her son "the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke i. 32, 33.) He acknowledgeth himself this office, though by a strange and unlikely representation of it, the riding on an ass; but by that it was "fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting on an ass." (Matt. xxi. 4, 5.) He made as strange a confession of it unto Pilate; for when he said unto him, "Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." (John xviii. 37.) The solemn inauguration into the office was at his ascension into heaven, and his session at the right hand of God: not but that he was by right a king before, but the full and public execution was deferred till then, "when God raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion." (Eph. i. 20, 21.) Then he, whose "name is called the Word of God, had on his vesture, and on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords." (Rev. xix. 13, 16.)

This regal office of our Saviour consisteth partly in the ruling, protecting, and rewarding of his people; partly in the coercing, condemning, and destroying of his enemies. First, he ruleth in his own people, by delivering them a law

* For the Chaldee paraphrase in the *sias* doth it with the addition of king. most places where it mentioneth the Mes-

by which they walk ; by furnishing them with his grace, by which they are enabled to walk in it. Secondly, he protecteth the same, by helping them to subdue their lusts, which reign in their mortal bodies ; by preserving them from the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil ; by supporting them in all their afflictions ; by delivering them from all their enemies. Thirdly, whom he thus rules and protects here, he rewards hereafter in a most royal manner, making them " kings and priests unto God and his Father." (Rev. i. 6.) On the contrary, he sheweth his regal dominion in the destruction of his enemies, whether they were temporal or spiritual enemies. Temporal, as the Jews and Romans, who joined together in his crucifixion. While he was on earth he told his disciples, " There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom : " (Matt. xvi. 28.) and in that kingdom he was then seen to come, when he brought utter destruction on the Jews by the Roman armies, not long after to be destroyed themselves. But, beside these visible enemies, there are other spiritual, those which hinder the bringing in of his own people into his Father's kingdom, those which refuse to be subject unto him, and consequently deny him to be their king ; as all wicked and ungodly men, of whom he hath said, " These mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me." (Luke xix. 27.) Thus sin, Satan, and death, being the enemies to his kingdom, shall all be destroyed in their order. " For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet : and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." (1 Cor. xv. 25, 26.) Thus is our Jesus become the " Prince of the kings of the earth ; " (Rev. i. 5.) thus is the Lamb acknowledged to be Lord of lords, and King of kings. (Rev. xvii. 14.)

Wherefore seeing we have already shewed that the prophetic, sacerdotal, and regal offices were to belong unto the promised Messiah, as the proper end and immediate effect of his unction ; seeing we have likewise declared how Jesus was anointed to these offices, and hath and doth actually perform the same in all the functions belonging to them : there remaineth nothing for the full explication of this particular concerning the *Christ*, but only to shew the manner of this unction, which is very necessary to be explained. For

how they were anointed under the law, who were the types of the Messias, is plain and evident, because the manner was prescribed, and the materials were visible: God appointed an oil to be made, and appropriated it to that use: and the pouring that oil upon the body of any person, was his anointing to that office for which he was designed. But being that oil so appropriated to this use was lost many hundred years before our Saviour's birth, being the custom of anointing in this manner had a long time ceased, being howsoever we never read that Jesus was at all anointed with oil; it remaineth still worthy our inquiry, how he was anointed, so as to answer to the former unctions; and what it was which answered to that oil, which then was lost, and was at the first but as a type of this which now we search for.

The Jews* tell us, that the anointing oil was hid in the days of Josiah, and that it shall be found and produced again when the Messias comes, that he may be anointed with it, and the kings and high priests of his days. But though the loss of that oil bespake the destruction of that nation, yet the Christ which was to come needed no such unction for his consecration; there being as great a difference between the typical and correspondent oil, as between the representing and represented Christ. The prophet David calleth it not by the vulgar name of oil of unction, but the "oil of gladness." (Psal. xlv. 7.) For though that place may in the first sense be understood of Solomon, whom when Zadok the priest anointed, "They blew the trumpet, and all the people said, God save king Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them;" (1 Kings i. 39, 40.) though from thence it might be said of him, "Thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness

* בימות המשיח עתיר הקדוש
ברוך הוא להחזיר לעמו אותו
שמן המשחא שנעשה משה שנבנו
עם הארון ובו ימשחו המלכים
הכהנים הגדולים בימי ההם

In the days of the Messias God will restore unto his people the oil of unction which Moses made which was hidden with the ark; and the kings and high priests shall be anointed with it in those days. Abarbanel Comment. ad 30. Exodi. Now the loss of that oil,

which they call the hiding of it, may well be thought to fortel the period of the Mosaiical administration, being, they confess, that after that they never had any priests anointed, because they had no power to make the same oil. So plainly confesseth the same Abarbanel: לא יהיה בהו משיח בבית שני לפי שכבר היה נבנו שמן המשחא שנבנו יאשיהו עם שאר הדברים הקדושים ולא היה להם רשות לעשותו

above thy fellows: yet being those words are spoken unto God, as well as of God, (therefore God thy God*) the oil with which that God is anointed, must in the ultimate and highest sense, signify a far greater gladness than that at Solomon's coronation was, even the fountain of all joy and felicity in the church of God.

The ancients† tell us that this oil is the Divinity itself, and in the language of the Scriptures it is the Holy Ghost. St. Peter teacheth us “how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power.” Now though there can be no question but the Spirit is the oil, yet there is some doubt, when Jesus was anointed with it. For we know the angel said unto the blessed virgin, “the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.” (Luke i. 35.) From whence it appeareth that from the conception, or at the incarnation, Jesus was sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest; and so, consequently, as St. Peter spake, he was “anointed *then* with the Holy Ghost, and with power.”‡ Again, being we read that after he was thirty years of age, the Spirit “like a dove descended and lighted upon him;” and he, descending in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, said unto them of Nazareth, “This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears,” meaning that of Isaiah, “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach

* *Duas personas, ejus qui unctus est Dei, et qui unxit, intellige. Unde et Aquila Elohim אֱלֹהִים verbum Hebraicum non nominativo casu, sed vocativo, interpretatur, dicens θεὶ et nos propter intelligentiam Deo posuimus, quod Latina lingua non accipit, ne quis perverse putet Deum dilecti et amantissimi et Regis bis Patrem nominari. St. Hieron. Epist. 104. Quod sequitur, “Unxit te, Deus, Deus tuus,” primum nomen Dei vocativo casu intelligendum est, sequens nominativo; quod satis miror cur Aquila non, ut coepit in primo versiculo, vocativo casu interpretatus sit, sed nominativo, bis nomen Deum, qui supradictum unxit Deum. Id. Ib.*

† So *Greg. Naz.* expounds the place: “Ὅτι ἔχρισεν ἱλαίον ἀγαλλιᾶσθως παρὰ τοῖς μετόχους αὐτοῦ, χρίσας τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τῇ θεότητι· ὥστε ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἑν. And again, *Χριστὸς δὲ, διὰ τὴν θεότητα* (not that his Di-

vinity was anointed, or Christ anointed in respect of his Divinity; but that he was anointed in his humanity by his Divinity) *χρίσις γὰρ αὐτῇ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος οὐκ ἐνεργεία, κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους χριστοὺς ἀγιάζουσα, παρουσία δὲ θεοῦ τοῦ χρίοντος· ἥ ἐργον, ἀνθρώπον ἀκούσαι τὸ χεῖρον, καὶ ποιῆσαι θεῶν τὸ χρίόμενον. Orat. 2. de Filio.*

‡ *Χριστὸς ἐχρίσθη ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ χρίσματος τῆς σαρκώσεως. Germanus Constant. Κεχρίσθαι δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρως φαμέν τὸν υἱόν, ἢ ὅτι κατὰ σάρκα γενόμενος, δηλονότι καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. Titus Hostrens. Deus est qui ungit, et Deus qui secundum carnem ungitur Dei filius. Denique quos habet unctionis suæ Christus nisi in carne participes? Vides igitur quia Deus à Deo unctus, sed in assumptione naturæ unctus humanæ Dei Filius designatur. St. Ambrose de Fide l. i. c. 2. Hæc omnia carni conveniunt, cui piissimum et gloriosissimum Verbum unitum est pro salute cunctorum. Cassiodorus in Psal. xlv.*

the gospel;" hence hath it been also collected, that his unction was performed at his baptism.* Nor need we contend which of these two was the true time of our Saviour's unction, since neither is destructive of the other, and consequently both may well consist together. David, the most undoubted type of the Messias, was anointed at Bethlehem; for there "Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward." (1 Sam. xvi. 13.) Of which unction those words of God must necessarily be understood, "I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him." (Psal. lxxxix. 20.) And yet he was again anointed at Hebron; first "over the house of Judah," (2 Sam. ii. 4.) then over "all the tribes of Israel." (2 Sam. v. 3.) As therefore David at his first unction received the Spirit of God, and a full right unto the throne of Israel, which yet he was not to exercise till the death of Saul and acceptation of the tribes; and therefore when the time was come that he should actually enter upon his regal office, he was again anointed: so our Jesus, the son of David, was first sanctified and anointed with the Holy Ghost at his conception, and thereby received a right unto, and was prepared for, all those offices which belonged to the Redeemer of the world: but when he was to enter upon the actual and full performance of all those functions which belonged to him, then doth the same Spirit which had sanctified him at his conception, visibly descend upon him at his inauguration. And that most properly upon his baptism; because, according to the customs of those ancient nations, washing was wont to precede their unctions:† wherefore "Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: And lo, the heavens were

* St. Jerome, mentioning that place of the Psalm, "Quando consortes nominantur, naturam carnis intellige; quia Deus consortes substantiæ suæ non habet. Et quia erat unctio spiritalis et nequaquam humani corporis, (ut fuit in sacerdotibus Judæorum) ideo præ consortibus, id est, cæteris sanctis, unctus esse memoratur. Cujus unctio illo expleta est tempore quando baptizatus est in Jordane, et Spi-

ritus Sanctus in specie Columbæ descendit super eum, et mansit in illo. *Comment. in Esaiam*, c. 61. In illa columba quæ super ipsum post baptismum descendit, cum sacramento baptismatis, et veri sacerdotii jura suscepit, fuso videlicet super eum oleo exsultationis, de quo Psalmista canit; unxit te, inquit, Deus, Deus tuus." *Petrus Damianus, Opuscul. vi. c. 4.*

† As appears by those entertainments so frequently mentioned by Homer in his *Odys.* as when Telemachus is entertained by Nestor:

Τέφρα δὲ Τηλέμαχον λούσιν καλὰ Πηλεΐδης,
Νίστορος ὀλωτότῳ θυγάτηρ Νηλεΐδας.
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λούσιν τε καὶ ἔχουσιν λίπ' ἑλαίῳ. *Od. Γ.*

opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove." (Matt. iii. 16.) As David sent Solomon to be anointed at Gihon : from whence arose that ancient observation of the rabbins, that "Kings were not to be anointed but by a fountain."*

Now as we have shewed that Jesus was anointed with the Holy Ghost, lest any should deny any such descension to be a proper or sufficient unction, we shall farther make it appear, that the effusion, or action of the Spirit, eminently containeth whatsoever the Jews have imagined to be performed or signified by those legal anointings. Two very good reasons they render why God did command the use of such anointing oil, as in respect of the action. First, that it might signify the Divine election of that person, and designation to that office : from whence it was necessary that it should be performed by a prophet, who understood the will of God. Secondly, that by it the person anointed might be

And Telemachus and Pisistratus are invited to the court of Menelaus ;

"Ες β' ἀσπαίνδους χάριτες ἔψχοντες λούσαντο·

Τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμῶαι λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἑλαίῳ. Od. Δ.

Thus Ulysses is entertained, Od. Θ. thus Pyrræus and Telemachus, Od. P. And Venus returning to Paphus, is so ordered by the Charites ;

"Ενθα δὲ μιν Χάριτες λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἑλαίῳ

"Αμφρότῳ, ὅα θεοὺς ἰσπενήνοεν αἰὲν ἰόντας. Od. Θ.

So Helena speaks of her entertaining Ulysses in a disguise ;

"Αλλ' ὅτε δὲ μιν ἔγδον ἰδέναι καὶ χρίσιν ἑλαίῳ.

It is apparent that this was the custom of the ancient Greeks. Of which Eustathius gives this reason ; Ἐλαίῳ ἔχριστο οἱ λουσάμενοι ἐμπλάτοντες τοὺς σωματικούς πόρους, ὡς ἀνὰ μετὰ λουτρὸν στήγειν τὴν ὑγρότητα. This custom was so ancient and general, that the Greeks had one word to express this anointing with oil after washing with water, which they called χύτλα and χυτλάσαι. Etymol. χυτλάσαι, οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀλείφαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ λουτρῷ ἀλείφασθαι. Schol. Aristoph. Χύτλα δὲ κυρίας, τὸ ἡγρῶ ἐπὶ ἀσπὶ ὕδατος ὄντος τῷ σώματι ἀλείφασθαι Hesych. Χύτλα, τὸ ἐφ' ὕδατος ἑλαίῳ and χυτλάσαι, τὸ ἀλείφαι μετὰ τὸ λούσασθαι. Hence, when Nausicaa went unto the pools to wash, her mother gave her a box of oil. Od. Z.

Δῶκε δὲ χρυσὴν ἐν λαυίδῳ ἡγρὸν ἑλαίῳ,

Εἰς χυτλάσαιτο σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν.

where the old Scholiast, χυτλάσαιτο, λουσαμένη ἀλείφαιτο and Eustathius, Εἰς χυτλάσαιτο, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς μετὰ λουτρὸν χυτλάσαι ἀλείφαιτο which exposition is warranted by the performance aftermentioned,

Αἱ δὲ λουσάμεναι καὶ ἀλείφμεναι λήν' ἑλαίῳ.

And as this was the ancient custom of the Greeks, so was it also the common custom of the Jews, as appears by the words of Naomi to Ruth, "wash thyself, therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee." Ruth iii. 3.

* They say in the Gemara, that this is a maxim of the doctors, אמרו בנמרא תו רבנן אין משהין את המלכים : כרי שתימשך מלכותן שני דוד תם אותה נידון : Aborbanel in 30 Exod. The end of which ceremony was to shew the prolonging of his kingdom, who was

so anointed ; and the original is referred to the anointing of Solomon, 1 Kings i. 35. For so it followeth in the Talmud, כרי שתימשך מלכותן שני דוד תם אותה נידון : Abarbanel ibid.

made fit to receive the Divine influx. For the first, it is evident there could be no such infallible sign of the Divine designation of Jesus to his offices, as the visible descent of the Spirit attended with a voice from heaven, instead of the hand of a prophet, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." (Matt. iii. 17.) For the second, this spiritual unction was so far from giving less than an aptitude to receive the Divine influx, that it was that Divine influx, nay, the Divinity itself, the Godhead dwelling in him bodily.

In respect of the matter, they give two causes why it was oil, and not any other liquor. First, because of all other, it signifies the greatest glory and excellency. The olive was the first of trees mentioned as fit for sovereignty, in regard of its "fatness, wherewith they honour God and man." (Judg. ix. 9.) Therefore it was fit that those persons which were called to a greater dignity than the rest of the Jews, should be consecrated by oil, as the best sign of election to honour. And can there be a greater honour than to be the son of God, the beloved son, as Jesus was proclaimed at this unction, by which he was consecrated to such an office, as will obtain him a name far above all names? Secondly, they tell us that oil continueth uncorrupted longer than any other liquor. And indeed it hath been observed to preserve not only itself, but other things from corruption;* hence they conclude it fit their kings and priests, whose succession was to continue for ever, should be anointed with oil, the most proper emblem of eternity. But even by this reason of their own, their unction is ceased, being the succession of their kings and priests is long since cut off, and their eternal and eternizing oil lost long before. And only that one *Jesus*, who was anointed with the most spiritual oil, "continueth for ever; and therefore hath an unchangeable priesthood, as being made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life." (Heb. vii. 24, 16.)

Beside, they observe, that simple oil, without any mixture, was sufficient for the candlestick; but that which was designed for unction must be compounded with principal spices,

* Unguenta optime servantur in alabastris, odores in oleo. *Plin. Hist. l. xiii. c. 2.*—Existimatur et ebori vindicando a carie utile esse. Certe simulacrum Saturni Romæ-intus oleo repletum est. *Id. l. xv. c. 7.* And whosoever made that statue at Rome, seems to have had his art

out of Greece, from that famous ivory statue made by Phidias. Οὗτος γὰρ μετὰ τὸ κατασκευάσαι Πισαίων εἰδωλος, (ἐξ ἐλπίφαντος δὲ τοῦτο ἦν) ἔλαιον ἐκχέειν προέταξεν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἑμπεροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ἀθάνατον εἰς δόξαν φυλάσσειν αὐτό. Proclus apud Epiphan. *Her. 64. §. 18.*

which signify a good name, always to be acquired by those in places of greatest dignity, by the most laudable and honourable actions. And certainly never was such an admixture of spices as in the unction of our Saviour, by which he was endued with all variety of the graces of God, by which he was enabled to "offer himself a sacrifice for a sweet-smelling savour." For as he was "full of grace and truth;" so "of his fulness have we all received, grace for grace;" (John i. 14. 16.) and as we have received anointing of him, (1 John ii. 27.) so we "are unto God a sweet savour of Christ." (2 Cor. ii. 15.)

Again, it was sufficient to anoint the vessels of the sanctuary in any part; but it was particularly commanded that the oil should be poured upon the head of the kings and priests, as the seat of all the animal faculties, the fountain of all dignity, and original* of all the members of the body. This was more eminently fulfilled in Jesus, who by his unction, or as *Christ*, became the head of the church; nay, the "head of all principality and power, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God." (Col. ii. 10. 19.)

Lastly, They observe, that though in the vessels nothing but a single unction was required; yet in the kings and priests there was commanded, or at least practised, both unction and effusion; as it is written "He poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctify him:" (Lev. viii. 22.) the first to signify their separation, the second to assure them of the falling of the Spirit upon them. Now what more clear, than that our Christ was anointed by effusion, whether we look upon his conception, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee;" or his inauguration, "the Spirit descended and lighted upon him:" And thus, according unto all particulars required by the Jews themselves to complete their legal unctions, we have sufficiently shewed that Jesus was, as most eminently, so most properly, anointed with the Spirit of God.

Wherefore being we have shewn that a Messiah was to come into the world; being we have proved that he is al-

* According to the Etymology in the Hebrew language, of which Abarbanel here takes notice; **כי הוא ראשון לכל האבר והיות** **מעלה שבהם:** **לכן נקרא ראש**

ready come, by the same predictions by which we believe he was to come ; being we have demonstrated that Jesus born in the days of Herod, was and is that promised Messias ; being we have farther declared, that he was anointed to those offices, which belonged to the Messias, and actually did and doth still perform them all ; and that his anointing was by the immediate effusion of the Spirit, which answereth fully to all things required in the legal and typical unction : I cannot see what farther can be expected for explication or confirmation of this truth, that *Jesus is the Christ*.

The necessity of believing this part of the article is most apparent, because it were impossible he should be our Jesus, except he were the *Christ*. For he could not reveal the way of salvation, except he were a prophet ; he could not work out that salvation revealed, except he were a priest ; he could not confer that salvation upon us, except he were a king ; he could not be prophet, priest, and king, except he were the *Christ*. This was the fundamental doctrine which the apostles not only testified, as they did that of the resurrection, but argued, proved, and demonstrated out of the law and the prophets. We find St. Paul, at Thessalonica, “ three sabbath days, reasoning with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead ; and that this Jesus whom I preach unto you, is Christ.” (Acts xvii. 2, 3.) We find him again at Corinth pressed in spirit, “ and testifying to the Jews, that Jesus was Christ.” (Acts xviii. 5.) Thus Apollos, by birth a Jew, but instructed in the Christian faith by Aquila and Priscilla, “ mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the Scriptures, that Jesus was Christ.” (ver. 28.) This was the touchstone by which all men at first were tried, whether they were Christian or anti-Christian ; “ For whosoever believeth (saith St. John) that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God.” What greater commendation of the assertion of this truth ? “ Who is a liar (saith the same apostle), but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ ? This man is the antichrist, as denying the Father and the Son.” What higher condemnation of the negation of it.

Secondly : As it is necessarily to be believed as a most fundamental truth, so it hath as necessary an influence upon our conversations ; because except it hath so, it cannot

clearly be maintained. Nothing can be more absurd in a disputant, than to pretend to demonstrate a truth as infallible, and at the same time to shew it impossible. And yet so doth every one who professeth faith in Christ already come, and liveth not according to that profession: for thereby he proveth, as far as he is able, that the true Christ is not yet come, at least that Jesus is not he. We sufficiently demonstrate to the Jews that our Saviour, who did and suffered so much, is the true Messias; but by our lives we recal our arguments, and strengthen their wilful opposition. For there was certainly a promise, that when Christ should come, "the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child should lead them;" (Isa. xi. 6.) that is, there should be so much love, unanimity, and brotherly kindness in the kingdom of Christ, that all ferity and inhumanity being laid aside, the most different natures and inclinations should come to the sweetest harmony and agreement. Whereas if we look upon ourselves, we must confess there was never more bitterness of spirit; more rancour of malice, more heat of contention, more manifest symptoms of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness, than in those which make profession of the Christian faith. It was infallibly foretold, that "when the law should go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, they should beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither should they learn war any more:" (Isa. ii. 3, 4.) whereas there is no other art so much studied, so much applauded, so violently asserted, not only as lawful, but as necessary. Look upon the face of Christendom, divided into several kingdoms and principalities: what are all these but so many public enemies, either exercising or designing war? The church was not more famous, or did more increase by the first blood, which was shed in the primitive times through the external violence of ten persecutions, than now it is infamous, and declines through constant violence, fraud and rapine, through public engagements of the greatest empires in arms, through civil and intestine wars; and, lest any way of shedding Christian blood should be unassayed, even by massacres. It was likewise prophesied of the days of the Messias, that all idolatry should totally cease, that all false

teachers should be cut off, and unclean spirits restrained. (Zech. xiii. 2.) And can we think that the Jews, who really abhor the thoughts of worshipping an image, can ever be persuaded there is no idolatry committed in the Christian church? Or can we excuse ourselves in the least degree from the plague of the locusts of Egypt, the false teachers? Can so many schisms and sects arise, and spread, can so many heresies be acknowledged and countenanced, without false prophets and unclean spirits? If then we would return to the bond of true Christian love and charity, if we would appear true lovers of peace and tranquillity, if we would truly hate the abominations of idolatry, false doctrine and heresy, let us often remember what we ever profess in our CREED, that *Jesus is the Christ*, that the kingdom of the Messias cannot consist with these impieties.

Thirdly: The necessity of this belief appeareth, in respect of those offices which belong to Jesus, as he is the *Christ*. We must look upon him as upon the prophet anointed by God to preach the gospel, that we may be incited to hear and embrace his doctrine. Though Moses and Elias be together with him in the mount, yet the voice from heaven speaketh of none but Jesus, "Hear ye him." (Matt. xvii. 5.) He is that Wisdom, the delight of God, crying in the Proverbs, "Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors." (Prov. viii. 34.) "There is one thing needful," saith our Saviour, and Mary chose that good part, who "sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word." (Luke x. 42. 39.) Which devout posture teacheth us, as a willingness to hear, so a readiness to obey; and the proper effect, which the belief of this prophetic office worketh in us, is our obedience of faith. We must farther consider him as our high-priest, that we may thereby add confidence to that obedience. For we have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus; yea, having a high-priest over the house of God, we may draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith." (Heb. x. 19. 21, 22.) And as this breedeth an adherence and assurance in us, so it requireth a resignation of us. For if Christ have redeemed us, we are his; if he died for us, it was that we should live to him: if we be "bought with a price," (1 Cor. vi. 20.) we are no longer our own; but we must "glorify God in our body, and in our spirits, which are God's." Again, an apprehen-

sion of him as a King, is necessary for the performance of our true and entire allegiance to him. "Send the Lamb of the ruler of the earth," (Isa. xvi. 1.) do him homage, acknowledge him your king, shew yourselves faithful and obedient subjects. We can pretend, and he hath required, no less. As soon as he let the apostles understand, that "all power was given unto him in heaven and in earth," (Matt. xxviii. 18. 20.) he charged them to "teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever he commanded them." Can we imagine he should so strictly enjoin subjection to higher powers, the highest of whom are here below, and that he doth not expect exact obedience to him who is exalted "far above all principalities and powers, and is set down at the right hand of God?" It is observable, that in the description of the coming of the Son of man, it is said, "the King shall say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you:" which title as it secures hope, in respect of his power; as it magnifies our reward, by the excellency of our inheritance; so also it teacheth us the indispensable condition of obedience.

Fourthly, The belief of *Jesus the Christ*, is necessary to instruct us what it is to be a Christian, and how far we stand obliged by owning that name. Those who did first embrace the faith, were styled *disciples*,* as when the "number of the disciples were multiplied," (Acts vi. 1. 7.) or believers, or brethren, or men of the church,† or callers upon the name of Christ, or men of the way;‡ or by their enemies, Nazarenes, and Gali-

* For when our Saviour gave that command to his apostles, Πορευθέντες ὅτι μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, *Go make all nations disciples*, they which delivered the gospel, were μαθητεύοντες, they which were taught it and received it, were at that time μαθητευόμενοι, and after by a name habitual, μαθηταί, translated by Tertull. *discipulus*, ordinarily *discipuli*. Μαθητὴς ὅτι ἵσθι, ὅς μαθητεύομεν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, πᾶς ὁ τῷ Κυρίῳ προσερχόμενος, ὥστε ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ, τοῦτ' ἵσθι, ἀκούει τὴν λόγον αὐτοῦ, πιστεύειν τε καὶ πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ ὡς διδασκόντι, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἱατρὸς, καὶ διδασκάλος ἀληθείας, ἐπ' ἰλπωδὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Thus then, in the language of the Scriptures, μαθητεύειν τοῦ, is to *make a disciple*; as μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανοὺς, Acts xiv. 21. μαθητεύουν τινι, to be a *disciple*; as Joseph of Arimathea, ἐμαθήτευσε τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Matt. xxvii. 57. Μαθητευόμενος τὸν αὐτὸν, Matt. xxviii. 19. μαθητεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν, Matt. xxviii. 19.

xiii, 52. Thus μαθητευόμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ, is often used by St. Basil "de Baptismate," whose title is, "Ὅτι δι' ὁρῶντος μαθητευόμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τότε καταξιοῦμαι τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, according to our Saviour's method. Hence those which were first converted to the faith, were called μαθηταί, as the disciples of Christ their doctor and master.

† Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as when Herod stretched forth his hand, καθεστῆαι τινὰς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, to *mischiefe some of those which were of the church*.

‡ As when Saul went down to Damascus with a commission, ὥστε εἰν πᾶς εὐρὴ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ γυναικῶν, δεδουλευμένος ἀγάγῃ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, Acts ix. 2. we translate it, *any of this way*, when there was no way mentioned to which the pronoun *this* should have relation; nor is ἡ οἰκία in the Greek any more than the way. So when St. Paul went to the Synagogue at Corinth,

leans. But in a short time they gained a name derived from their Saviour, though not from that name of his which signifieth salvation; for, from Christ, they were called *Christians*. A title so honourable, and of such concernment, that St. Luke hath thought fit to mention the city in which that name was first heard. And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch,* as the Scriptures assure us; so named by Euodius the bishop of that place, as ecclesiastical history informs us. A name no sooner invented, but embraced by all believers, as bearing the most proper signification of their profession, and relation to the Author and master whom they served. In which the primitive Christians so much delighted, that before the face of their enemies they would acknowledge no other title but that, though hated, reviled, tormented, mar-

"divers were hardened and believed not," *καυλοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλῆθους*, Acts xix. 9. here we translate it, *spoke evil of that way*; but Beza has left his *Articulus pronominis vice fungitur*, which he had from Erasmus, and hath otherwise supplied it, *male loquentes de via Dei*: and the old translation, which in the former had *hujus vie*, in this hath simply *maledicentes via*: and certainly ἡ ὁδὸς is nothing but *the way*. Again, at Ephesus, *ἔγιντο δὲ κατὰ τὴν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Acts xix. 23. *de via*. V. Transl. Beza again *ob viam Dei*, but it is nothing but *the way*. Thus Felix put off St. Paul, *ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, till he had a more exact knowledge of the way; V. Translat. *de via hac*; Beza *ad sectam istam*. Whereas then the phrase is so simply and so frequently the same, it can be nothing else but the word then in use to signify the religion which the Christians professed. And so some also of the ancients seem to have spoken, as appears by the language of the Melchizedecians, *Χριστὸς ἐξελήνυ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καθίσῃ ἐν πολλὰν ὁδὸν εἰς μίαν ταύτην τὴν γῶσιν*, *ἔπειδαν ἀπίστρεψεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ εὐδελον, καὶ ἐπέδειξεν ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν*, and in that description of the Gallican persecution, *Ἐμμεῖς δὲ ἔξω οἱ μὲνδὲ ἔχοντες πόποτι πίστιως, μὲνδὲ αἰσθῶσιν ἐνδοματες θυμφοῦ, μὲνδὲ ἰπποαν φέδω Θεοῦ στήντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν*. Euseb. Hist. l. v. c. 1.

* St. Luke noteth the place, but neither the time when, nor person by whom this name was given. Tertullian seems to make it as ancient as the reign of Tiberius: *Apol. c. 5*; Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introiuit. But I conceive indeed, he speaks not of

the name, but of the religion: for so he may well be thought to expound himself, saying soon after, "*Census istius discipline, ut jam edidimus, a Tiberio est*:" c. 7. However, the name of *Christian* is not so ancient as Tiberius, nor, as I think, as Caius. Some ancient author in Suida assures us, that it was first named in the reign of Claudius, when St. Peter had ordained Euodius bishop of Antioch. *Ἰστοῖον δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Κασιλέας Ῥώμης, Πέτρον τοῦ ἀποστόλου χειροτονήσαντος Εὐόδιον, μετασημάσθυσαν οἱ πάλοι λεγόμενοι Ναζαραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, Χριστιανοί*. Suid. in *Ναζαραῖος* and in *Χριστιανός*. And Johannes Antiochenus confirms not only the time, but tells us that Euodius the bishop was the author of the name. *Καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ (Κλαυδίου) Χριστιανὸν ἀσημάσθυσαν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱπποκρίτου Εὐδοίου προσομιλήσαντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπιδήσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τούτου*, πρῶτον γὰρ *Ναζαραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλεῖντο οἱ Χριστιανοί*. Thus the name *Christian* was first brought into use at Antioch, by Euodius the bishop of the place, and hath ever since been continued as the most proper appellation which could be given unto our profession, being derived from "the Author and finisher of our faith." At nunc secta orditur in nomine utique sui auctoris. Quid novi, si aliqua disciplina de magistro cognomentum sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne philosophi de auctoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? Etiam à locis conventionum et stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? Nonne Medici ab Erasistrato, et Grammatici à Aristarcho, coci etiam ab Apicio? Neque tamen quonquam offendit professio nominis cum institutione transmissa ab institutore. *Tertul. Apol. c. 3*.

tyred for it.* Nor is this name of greater honour to us, than obligation. There are two parts of the seal of the foundation of God, and one of them is this, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." (2 Tim. ii. 19.) It was a common answer of the ancient martyrs, "I am a Christian, and with us no evil is done.†" The very name was thought to speak something of emendation;‡ and whosoever put it on, became the better man. Except such reformation accompany our profession, there is no advantage in the appellation;§ nor can we be honoured by that title, while we dishonour him that gives it. If he be therefore called *Christ*, because anointed; as we derive the name of *Christian*, so we do receive our unction,|| from him. For as "the precious ointment upon the head ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his garments;" (Psal. cxxxiii. 2.) so the Spirit, which, without measure, was poured upon Christ our head, is by him diffused through all the members of his body.¶ For "God hath established and anointed us in Christ:" (2 Cor. i. 21.) "We have an unction from the Holy One, and the anointing which we have received from him, abideth in us." (1 John ii. 20. 27.) Necessary then it cannot choose but be, that we should know Jesus to be the Christ: because he is *Jesus*,

* As we read of Sanctus, a deacon at Vienna, in a hot persecution of the French church, who being in the midst of tortures, was troubled with several questions, which the gentiles usually then asked, to try if they could extort any confession of any wicked actions practised secretly by the Christians; yet would not give any other answer to any question, than that he was a Christian. Τοσαύτη παραστάσει ἀντιπαρτάζετο αὐτός, ὥστε μήτε τὸ ἴδιον κατεπιτὶν ὄνομα, μήτε ἔθνος, μήτε πόλιν, ὡς ἦν, μήτε εἰ δούλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶη· ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπιρωτώμενα ἀπεκρίναιτο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, Χριστιανός εἰμι· τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως, καὶ ἀντὶ γένους, καὶ ἀντὶ παντός ἑκαλλέως ἀμαλῶμαι. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. cap. 1. The same doth St. Chrysostom testify of St. Lucian:

Πόλις εἶ πατήρ; Χριστιανός εἰμι, φησὶ. Τί ἔχεις ἐπιτιθεῖν; Χριστιανός εἰμι· τίνας προγόνους; ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι. † Su Blandina in the French persecution: ἦν αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναλῃσσία τῶν συμπαυόντων, τὸ λέγειν ὅτι

Χριστιανὴ εἰμι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν φαῦλον γίνεσθαι. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 1.

‡ Alii quos ante hoc nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant quod laudant, cæcitate odii in suffragium impingunt. Quæ mulier! quam lasciva! quam festiva! qui juvenis! quam lascivus! quam amasius! facti sunt Christiani: ita nomen emendationis imputatur. Tertull.

§ Totum in id revolvitur, ut qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videatur. Nomen enim sine actu atque officio suo nihil est. Salvian. de Provid. l. iv. Ἐάν τις τὸ ὄνομα λαβὼν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ ἠυβρίζῃ τὸν Χριστὸν, οὐδὲν ὀφείλος αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς περιστοργίας. S. Basil ad Amphilocho.

|| Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Tertull. Apol. c. 3.

¶ Inde apparet Christi corpus nos esse, quia omnes unguimur; et omnes in illo et Christi et Christus sumus, quia quodammodo totus Christus caput et corpus est. S. August. in Psal. xxvi.

that is, our Saviour; by being *Christ*, that is, anointed; so we can have no share in him as Jesus, except we become truly Christians, and so be in him as Christ, anointed with that unction from the Holy One.*

Thus having run through all the particulars at first designed for the explication of the title *Christ*, we may at last clearly express, and every Christian easily understand, what it is we say, when we make our confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus Christ*. I do assent unto this as a certain truth, that there was a man promised by God, foretold by the prophets, to be the Messiah, the Redeemer of Israel, and the expectation of the nations. I am fully assured by all those predictions, that the Messiah so promised, is already come. I am as certainly persuaded, that the man born in the days of Herod of the Virgin Mary, by an angel from heaven called *Jesus*, is that true Messiah, so long, so often promised; that, as the Messiah, he was anointed to three special offices, belonging to him as the mediator between God and man: that he was a prophet, revealing unto us the whole will of God, for the salvation of man; that he was a priest, and hath given himself a sacrifice for sin, and so hath made an atonement for us; that he is a king, set down at the right hand of God, far above all principalities and powers, whereby, when he hath subdued all our enemies, he will confer actual, perfect, and eternal happiness upon us. I believe this unction, by which he became the true Messiah, was not performed by any material oil, but by the Spirit of God, which he received as the head, and conveyeth to his members. And in this full acknowledgment, *I believe in Jesus Christ*.

His Only Son.

AFTER our Saviour's nomination immediately followeth his filiation: and justly after we have acknowledged him to be *the Christ*, do we confess him to be the *Son of God*; because these two were ever inseparable, and even by the Jews themselves accounted equivalent. Thus Nathanael, that true Israelite, maketh his confession of the Messiah: "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." (John i. 49.)

* Ταγαρὸν ἡμεῖς τοῦτου εἵνεκα παλούμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χρίμεθα ἑλαῖον Θεῷ. Theoph. ad Autol. l. i.

Thus Martha makes expression of her faith; "I believe that thou art the Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world." (John xi. 27.) Thus the high-priest maketh his inquisition: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." (Matt. xxvi. 63.) This was the famous confession of St. Peter; "We believe and are sure, that thou art that Christ the Son of the living God." (John vi. 69.) And the Gospel of St. John was therefore written, that "we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." (John xx. 31.) Certain then it is, that all the Jews, as they looked for a Messias to come, so they believed that Messias to be the Son of God (although since the coming of our Saviour they have denied it):* and that by reason of a constant interpretation of the second Psalm, as appropriated unto him. And the primitive Christians did at the very beginning include this filial title of our Saviour together with his names into the compass of one word.† Well therefore, after we have expressed our faith in Jesus Christ, is added that, which always had so great affinity with it, *the only Son of God*.

In these words there is little variety to be observed, except that what we translate the *only Son*,‡ that in the phrase of

* For when Celsus, in the person of a Jew, had spoken these words, καὶ εἶπεν ἡμῖς ἀποφάντες ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις περὶ, ὅτι ἦν Θεοῦ υἱός, τῶν ὁρίων περὶ, καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων κολαστέας, Origen says they were most improperly attributed to a Jew, who did look indeed for a Messias, but not for the Son of God, i. e. not under the notion of a Son. Ἰουδαῖος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσας ὅτι ἀποφάντες τις εἶπεν ἦσαν Θεοῦ υἱὸς ὁ γὰρ λέγουσιν ἔσθαι, ὅτι ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πολλὰς δὲ ζητοῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰδήσεις περὶ υἱοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς οὐδὲν ὅντος τοιοῦτου, οὐδὲ ἀποφάντες. Adv. Cels. l. i.

† That is, IXΘΥΣ. Nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθύν nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur. Tertul. de Bapt. c. 1. which is thus interpreted by Optatus, cujus piscis nomen secundum appellationem Græcam in uno nomine per singulas literas turbam sanctorum nominum continet, ἰχθύν, quod est Latine "Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator." lib. iii.

‡ The Latins indeed generally use the word *unicum*. So Rufinus; "Et in unico filio ejus;" which is so far from being in his apprehension the same with *unigenitus*, that he refers it as well to Lord as Son.

"Hic ergo Jesus Christus, Filius unicus Dei, qui est et Dominus noster unicus, et ad Filium referri et ad Dominum potest." So St. August. in Enchiridio. c. 34. and Leo Epist. 10. Which is therefore to be observed, because in the ancient copies of those epistles, the word *unicum* was not to be found; as appeareth by the discourse of Vigilinus, who, in the fourth book against Eutyches, hath these words: "Illa primitus us diluens volumine quæ Leonis objiciantur Epistolæ, cujus hoc sibi primo capitulum iste, nescio quis, proposuit; fidelium universitas proficitur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum." That which he aims at, is the tenth epistle of Leo, in which those words are found, but with the addition of *unicum*, which, as it seems, then was not there; as appears yet farther by the words which follow: "Miror tamen quomodo hunc locum iste notavit, et illum prætermisit, ubi unici filii commemorationem idem beatus Leo facit, dicens, Idem verò sempiterni genitoris unigenitus sempiternus, natus de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine;" which words are not to be found

the Scripture and the Greek church is, the *only-begotten*. It is then sufficient for the explication of these words, to shew how Christ is the Son of God, and what is the peculiarity of his generation; that when others are also the sons of God, he alone should so be his Son, as no other is or can be so; and therefore he alone should have the name of the *only-begotten*.

First then, It cannot be denied that Christ is the Son of God, for that reason, because he was by the Spirit of God born of the Virgin Mary; for that which is conceived (or begotten)* in her, by the testimony of an angel, is of the Holy Ghost; and because of him, therefore the Son of God. For so spake the angel to the Virgin; "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee (or, which is begotten of thee) shall be called the Son of God." And the reason is clear, because that the Holy Ghost is God. For were he any creature, and not God himself, by whom our Saviour was thus born of the Virgin, he must have been the Son of a creature, not of God.

in the same epistle. Howsoever it was in the first copies of Leo: both Rufinus and St. Augustin, who were before him, and Maximus Taurinensis, Chrysologus, Etherius and Beatus, who were later, read it, "et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum." But the word used in the Scriptures, and kept constantly by the Greeks, is *μονογενής*, the *only-begotten*.

* For the original is *τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννῶν* and it is the observation of St. Basil, *ὡς εἴπεται, τὸ κεννῶν, ἀλλὰ, τὸ γεννῶν*. Indeed the vulgar translation renders it, *quod in ea natum est*, and in St. Luke, *quod nascetur sanctum*; and it must be confessed this was the most ancient translation. For so Tertullian read it, *Per virginem dicitis natum, non ex virgine, et in vulva, non ex vulva, quia et Angelus in somnis ad Joseph, "Nam quod in ea natum est," inquit, "de Sp. S. est."* *De carne Christi*, c. 19. and of that in St. Luke, *Hæc et ab Angelo exceperat secundum nostrum Evangelium, "Propterea quod in te nascetur, vocabitur sanctum, filius Dei."* *Adv. Marcion*. l. iv. c. 7. Yet *quod in ea natum est* cannot be proper, while it is yet in the womb; nor can the child first be said to be born, and then that the mother shall bring it forth. It is true indeed, *γεννῶν* signifies not always to beget, but sometimes to bear or bring forth; as *ἡ γυνὴ σου ἔνεσάσθαι γεννῆσαι υἱόν σου*, Luke i.

13. 57. *καὶ ἑλθόντων υἱόν*. So *τῷ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννῶντι ἐν Βηθλεὲμ*, Matt. ii. 1. must necessarily be understood of Christ's nativity, for it is most certain that he was not begotten or conceived at Bethlehem. And this without question must be the meaning of Herod's inquisition, *πῶς ὁ Χριστὸς γενῆται*, where the *Messias* was to be born. But though *γενῶν* have sometimes the signification of bearing or bringing forth; yet *τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννῶν* cannot be so interpreted, because it speaks of something as past, when as yet Christ was not born; and though the conception was already past, and we translate it so, "which is conceived;" yet St. Basil rejects that interpretation: *γενῶν* is one thing, *συλλαμβάνειν* another. Seeing then the nativity was not yet come, and *γεννῶν* speaks of something already past, therefore the old translation is not good, *quod in ea natum est*. Seeing, though the conception indeed were past, yet *γενῶν* signifieth not to conceive, and so is not properly to be interpreted, that which is conceived; seeing *γενῶν* is most properly to beget, as *ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ γενετικὴ facultas*: therefore I conceive the fittest interpretation of those words, *τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννῶν*, that which is begotten in her. And because the angel in St. Luke speaks of the same thing, therefore I interpret *τὸ γεννῶμεν ἐν σοῦ*, in the same manner, that which is begotten of thee.

Secondly, It is as undoubtedly true, that the same Christ; thus born of the Virgin by the Spirit of God, was designed to so high an office by the special and immediate will of God, that by virtue thereof he must be acknowledged the Son of God. He urgeth this argument himself against the Jews; "Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?" (John x. 34—36.) Are not these the very words of the eighty-second Psalm? "If he called them gods," if God himself so spake, or the Psalmist from him, if this be the language of the Scripture, if they be called gods "unto whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken," nor the authority thereof in any particular denied), "Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world," whom he hath consecrated and commissioned to the most eminent and extraordinary office, "say ye of him, Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God?"

Thirdly, Christ must therefore be acknowledged the Son of God, because he is raised immediately by God out of the earth unto immortal life. For "God hath fulfilled the promise unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." (Acts xiii. 33.) The grave is as the womb of the earth; Christ who is raised from thence, is as it were begotten to another life: and God who raised him, is his Father. So true it must needs be of him, which is spoken of others, who are "the children of God, being the children of the resurrection." (Luke xx. 36.) Thus was he defined, or constituted, and appointed the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead: (Rom. i. 4.) neither is he called simply the first that rose, but with a note of generation, "the first-born from the dead." (Col. i. 18.)

Fourthly, Christ, after his resurrection from the dead, is made actually heir of all things in his Father's house, and Lord of all the spirits which minister unto him, from whence he also hath the title of the *Son of God*. "He is set down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" (Heb. i. 3—5.) From all which testimonies of the Scriptures it is evident, that Christ hath this fourfold right unto the title of the *Son of God*: by genera-

tion, as begotten of God; by commission, as sent by him; by resurrection, as the first-born; by actual possession, as heir of all.

But beside these four, we must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any which belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*. For although to be born of a virgin be in itself miraculous, and justly entitles Christ unto the *Son of God*; yet it is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the only-begotten. We read of "Adam the son of God," (Luke iii. 38.) as well as Seth the son of Adam: and surely the framing Christ out of a woman cannot so far transcend the making Adam out of the earth, as to cause so great a distance as we must believe between the first and second Adam. Beside, there were many, while our Saviour preached on earth, who did believe his doctrine, and did confess him to be the *Son of God*, who in all probability understood nothing of his being born of a virgin; much less did they foresee his rising from the dead, or inheriting all things. Wherefore, supposing all these ways by which Christ is represented to us as the *Son of God*, we shall find out one more yet, far more proper in itself, and more peculiar unto him, in which no other son can have the least pretence of share or of similitude, and consequently in respect of which we must confess him the *only-begotten*.

To which purpose I observe, that the actual possession of his inheritance, which was our fourth title to his sonship, presupposes his resurrection, which was the third: and his commission to his office, which was the second, presupposeth his generation of a virgin, as the first. But I shall now endeavour to find another generation, by which the same Christ was begotten, and consequently a Son before he was conceived in the virgin's womb. Which that I may be able to evince, I shall proceed in this following method, as not only most facile and perspicuous, but also most convincing and conclusive. First, I will clearly prove out of the holy Scriptures, that Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, had an actual being or subsistence, before the Holy Ghost did come upon the Virgin, or the power of the Highest did overshadow her. Secondly, I will demonstrate from the same Scriptures,

that the being which he had antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, was not any created being, but essentially Divine. Thirdly, We will shew that the Divine essence which he had, he received as communicated to him by the Father. Fourthly, We will declare this communication of the Divine nature to be a proper generation, by which he which communicateth, is a proper Father, and he to whom it is communicated, a proper Son. Lastly, We will manifest that the Divine essence was never communicated in that manner to any person but to him, that never any was so begotten besides himself; and, consequently, in respect of that Divine generation, he is most properly and perfectly "the only-begotten Son of the Father."

As for the first, that Jesus Christ had a real being or existence, by which he truly was, before he was conceived of the Virgin Mary, I thus demonstrate. He which was really in heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended into heaven, or went unto the Father, he had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. This is most clear and evident, upon these three suppositions not to be denied. First, That Christ did receive no other being or nature after his conception, before his ascension, than what was begotten of the Virgin. Secondly, That what was begotten of the Virgin had its first being here on earth, and therefore could not really be in heaven till it ascended thither. Thirdly, That what was really in heaven, really was; because nothing can be present in any place, which is not. Upon these suppositions certainly true, the first proposition cannot be denied. Wherefore I assume; Jesus Christ was really in heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin, ascended into heaven, or went unto the Father; as I shall particularly prove by the express words of the scripture. Therefore I conclude, that Jesus Christ had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. Now that he was really in heaven before he ascended thither, appeareth by his own words to his disciples; "What and if you shall see the Son of man ascend

up where he was before?"* For he speaketh of a real ascension, such as was to be seen or looked upon, such as they might view as spectators. The place to which that ascension tended, was truly and really the heaven of heavens. The verb substantive, not otherwise used, sufficiently testifieth not a figurative but a real being, especially considering the opposition in the word *before*. Whether we look upon the time of speaking, then present, or the time of his ascension, then to come, his being or existing in heaven was *before*. Nor is this now at last denied, that he was in heaven before the ascension mentioned in these words, but that he was there before he ascended at all. We shall therefore farther shew that this ascension was the first; that what was born of the Virgin was never in heaven before this time of which he speaks: and being in heaven before this ascension, he must be acknowledged to have been there before he ascended at all. If Christ had ascended into heaven before his death, and descended from thence, it had been the most remarkable action in all his life, and the proof thereof of the greatest efficacy towards the disseminating of the gospel. And can we imagine so Divine an action, of so high concernment, could have passed, and none of the evangelists ever make mention of it? Those which are so diligent in the description of his nativity and circumcision, his oblation in the temple, his reception by Simeon, his adoration by the wise men; those which have described his descent into Egypt; would they have omitted his ascent into heaven? Do they tell us of the wisdom which he shewed, when he disputed with the doctors? And were it not worthy our knowledge, whether it were before he was in heaven or after? The diligent seeking of Joseph and Mary, and her words when they found him, "Son, why hast thou dealt so with us?" (Luke ii. 48.) shew that he had not been missing from them till then, and consequently not ascended into heaven. After that he went down to Nazareth, and "was subject unto them:" and I understand not how he should ascend into heaven, and at the same time be subject to them; or there receive his commission and instructions as the great legate of God, or ambassador from heaven, and return again unto his old subjection;

* John vi. 62. *Θαυμάσιον*: as it came to pass, *βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανόν*. Acts i. ix.

and afterwards to go to John to be baptized of him, and to expect the descent of the Spirit for his inauguration. Immediately from Jordan he is carried into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, and it were strange if any time could then be found for his ascension: for "he was forty days in the wilderness," (Mark i. 13.) and certainly heaven is no such kind of place; he was all that time with the beasts, who undoubtedly are none of the celestial hierarchy; and tempted of Satan, whose dominion reacheth no higher than the air. Wherefore in those forty days Christ ascended not into heaven, but rather heaven descended unto him; for "the angels ministered unto him." (Mark i. 13.) After this he "returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee," (Luke iv. 14.) and there exercised his prophetic office: after which there is not the least pretence of any reason for his ascension. Beside, the whole frame of this antecedent or preparatory ascension of Christ is not only raised, without any written testimony of the word, or unwritten testimony of tradition, but is without any reason in itself, and contrary to the revealed way of our redemption. For what reason should Christ ascend into heaven to know the will of God, and not be known to ascend thither? Certainly the Father could reveal his will unto the Son as well on earth as in heaven. And if men must be ignorant of his ascension, to what purpose should they say he ascended, except they imagine either an impotency in the Father, or dissatisfaction in the Son? Nor is this only asserted without reason, but also against that rule to be observed by Christ, as he was anointed to the sacerdotal office. For the holy of holies made with hands was the figure of the true (that is, heaven itself) into which "the high-priest alone went once every year:" (Heb. ix. 24. 7. 12.) and Christ as our high-priest "entered in once into the holy place." If then they deny Christ was a priest before he preached the gospel, then did he not enter into heaven, because the high-priest alone went into the type thereof, the holy of holies. If they confess he was, then did he not ascend till after his death, because he was to enter in but once, and that not without blood. Wherefore being Christ ascended not into heaven till after his death, being he certainly was in heaven before that ascension, we have sufficiently made good that part of our argument, that Jesus Christ was in heaven before that which

was begotten of the Virgin, ascended thither. Now that which followeth, will both illustrate and confirm it; for as he was there, so he descended from thence before he ascended thither. This he often testifieth and inculcateth of himself: "the bread of God is he, which cometh down from heaven; *and, I am the living bread which came down from heaven.*" (John vi. 33. 51.) He opposeth himself unto the manna in the wilderness, which never was really in heaven, or had its original from thence, "Moses gave you not that bread from heaven," (ver. 32.) but the Father gave Christ really from thence: Wherefore he saith, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me." (ver. 38.) Now never any person upon any occasion is said to descend from heaven, but such as were really there before they appeared on earth, as the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the angels: but no man, however born, however sanctified, sent, or dignified, is said thereby to descend from thence; but rather when any is opposed to Christ, the opposition is placed in this very origination. John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb;" (Luke i. 15.) born of an aged father and a barren mother, by the power of God: and yet he distinguisheth himself from Christ in this; "he that cometh from above, is above all: he that is of the earth, is earthy, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from heaven, is above all." (John iii. 31.) Adam was framed immediately by God, without the intervention of man or woman; and yet he is so far from being thereby from heaven, that even in that he is distinguished from the second Adam. For "the first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven." (1 Cor. xv. 47.) Wherefore the descent of Christ from heaven doth really presuppose his being there, and that antecedently to any ascent thither. For "that he ascended, what is it, but that he also descended first?" (Eph. iv. 9.) So St. Paul, asserting a descent as necessarily preceding his ascension, teacheth us never to imagine an ascent of Christ as his first motion between heaven and earth; and, consequently, that the first being or existence which Christ had, was not what he received by his conception here on earth, but what he had before in heaven, in respect whereof he was with the Father, from whom he came. His disciples believed that he came out from God: and he commended that faith, and confirmed

the object of it by this assertion; "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father." (John xxvi. 27, 28.) Thus, having by undoubted testimonies, made good the latter part of the argument, I may safely conclude, that being Christ was really in heaven, and descended from thence, and came forth from the Father, before that which was conceived of the Holy Ghost, ascended thither; it cannot with any show of reason be denied, that Christ had a real being and existence antecedent unto his conception here on earth, and distinct from the being which he received here.

Secondly, We shall prove not only a bare priority of existence, but a pre-existence of some certain and acknowledged space of duration. For whosoever was before John the Baptist, and before Abraham, was some space of time before Christ was man. This no man can deny, because all must confess the blessed Virgin was first saluted by the angel six months after Elizabeth conceived, and many hundred years after Abraham died. But Jesus Christ was really existent before John the Baptist, and before Abraham, as we shall make good by the testimony of the Scriptures. Therefore it cannot be denied, but Christ had a real being and existence some space of time before he was made man. For the first, it is the express testimony of John himself; "This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me, is preferred before me, for he was before me." (John i. 15.) In which words, first, he taketh to himself a priority of time, speaking of Christ, "he that cometh after me:" for so he came after him into the womb, at his conception; into the world, at his nativity; unto his office, at his baptism; always after John, and at the same distance. Secondly, He attributeth unto Christ a priority of dignity, saying, "he is preferred before me;" (John i. 27.) as appeareth by the reiteration of these words, "He it is who coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes' latchet I am not worthy to unloose." The addition of which expression of his own unworthiness sheweth, that to be preferred before him is the same with being worthier than he, to which the same expression is constantly added by all the other three evangelists. Thirdly, He rendereth the reason or cause of that great dignity which belonged to Christ, saying "for [or rather, *because*] he was before me." And being the cause must be supposed different

and distinct from the effect, therefore the priority last mentioned cannot be that of dignity. For to assign any thing as the cause or reason of itself, is a great absurdity, and the expression of it a vain tautology. Wherefore that priority must have relation to time or duration (as the very tense, "he was before me," sufficiently signifieth), and so be placed in opposition to his coming after him. As if John the Baptist had thus spoke at large: This man Christ Jesus, who came into the world, and entered on his prophetic office six months after me, is notwithstanding of far more worth and greater dignity than I am; even so much greater, that I must acknowledge myself unworthy to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoes: and the reason of this transcendent dignity is, from the excellency of that nature which he had before I was; for though he cometh after me, yet he was before me.

Now as Christ was before John, which speaks a small, so was he also before Abraham, which speaks a larger time. Jesus himself hath asserted this pre-existence to the Jews: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am." (John viii. 58.) Which words, plainly and literally expounded, must evidently contain this truth. For, first, Abraham in all the Scriptures never hath any other signification than such as denotes the person called by that name; and the question to which these words are directed by way of answer, without controversy, spake of the same person. Beside, Abraham must be the subject of that proposition, "Abraham was;" because a proposition cannot be without a subject, and if Abraham be the predicate, there is none. Again, as we translate "Abraham was," in a tense signifying the time past; so it is most certainly to be understood, because that which he speaks unto, is the pre-existence of Abraham, and that of long duration; so that whatsoever had concerned his present estate or future condition, had been wholly impertinent to the precedent question. Lastly, The expression, *I am*, seeming something unusual or improper to signify a priority in respect of any thing past, because no present instant is before that which precedeth, but that which followeth: yet the* use of it sufficiently main-

* So Nonnus here more briefly and plainly than usual: Ἀβραάμ πρὶν γένεσθαι Ἰσραήλ, thou not known me? and John xv. 27. Ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι. So John xiv. 9. τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' ὑμῶν ἔσται, because ye have μετ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με; Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast

taineth, and the nature of the place absolutely requireth, that it should not here denote a present being, but a priority of existence, together with a continuation of it till the present time. And then the words will plainly signify thus much : Do you question how I could see Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Verily, verily, I say unto you, before* ever Abraham, the person whom you speak of, was born, I had a real being and existence (by which I was capable of the sight of him), in which I have continued until now. In this sense certainly the Jews understood our Saviour's answer, as pertinent to their question, but in their opinion blasphemous ; and therefore " they took up stones to cast at him."

This literal and plain explication is yet farther necessary ; because those who once recede from it, do not only wrest and pervert the place, but also invent and suggest an answer unworthy of and wholly misbecoming him that spake it. For (setting aside the addition of the light of the world, which there can be no show of reason to admit);† whether they interpret the former part (*before Abraham was*) of something to come, as the calling of the gentiles, or the latter (*I am*) of

ginning. Thus Nonnus, Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενῶντες ἦσαν θεῶτατες ἔργων. John vi. 24. ὅτε αὐτὸν ὁ ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἴσταν ἐκεῖ, When the people saw that Jesus was not there. Nor only doth St. John use thus the present tense for that which is past, but as frequently for that which is to come. For as before, τοσούτων χρόνων μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰμι, so on the contrary, ἐν μικρῶν χρόνων μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰμι, John vii. 33. and ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἡμῶς ἵσταται, John xii. 26. xiv. 3. xvii. 24. Wherefore it is very indifferent whether (John vii. 34.) we read, ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ, or ὅπου εἰμι. For Nonnus seems to have read it εἰμι by his translation, εἰς ἀπαρχὴν ἢ παρ' ἀπαρχῆς and the Jews' question, ποῦ εἶσθε μέλλετε πορεύεσθαι, shews they understood it so : for this εἰμι, though of a present form, is of a future signification. Hesych. Εἰμι, πορεύομαι. And so it agreeth with that which follows, John viii. 21. ἔγω ἐγὼ ἡγάγην, ἡμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἰδέναι. If we read εἰμι, as the old translation, ubi ego sum, it will have the force of ἵσταμαι, and agree with the other, ἵνα ἔγω εἰμι ἐγὼ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔσται. Howsoever, it is clear, St. John useth the present εἰμι either in relation to what is past, or what is to come, and is therefore to be interpreted as the matter in hand requireth. And certainly, the place now under our consideration can admit no other relation but to the time already

past, in which Abraham lived. And we find the present tense in the same manner joined with the aorist elsewhere : as Psal. xc. 2. πρὸ τοῦ ἔχει γεννηθῆναι, καὶ πηλοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν οὐρανὴν, καὶ ἀπὸ αἰῶνος, ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ. What can be more parallel than, πρὸ τοῦ ἔχει γεννηθῆναι, το πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, and σὺ εἶ, το ἐγὼ εἰμι ; in the same manner, though by another word, πρὸ τοῦ ἔχει ἰδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βασιλεὺς γενῶν μὲν. Prov. viii. 25.

* So the Æthiopic Version, " Amen dico vobis, priusquam Abraham nasceretur, fui ego ;" and the Persian, " Vere, vere vobis dico, quod nondum Abraham factus erat, cum ego eram."

† This is the shift of the Socinians, who make this speech of Christ elliptical, and then supply it from the 12th verse. " I am the light of the world." Quod vero ea verba, Ego sum, sint ad eum modum supplenda, ac si ipse subjecisset his, Ego sum lux mundi, superius e principio ejus orationis, ver. 12. et hinc quod Christus bis seipsam iisdem, Ego sum, lucem mundi vocaverit, ver. 24. et 28. deprehendi potest. Catech. Racov. Whereas there is no ground for any such connexion. That discourse of the light of the world was in the treasury, ver. 20. that which followeth was not, at least appeareth not to be so. Therefore the ellipsis of the 24th and 28th verses is not to be supplied by the 12th,

a pre-existence in the Divine foreknowledge and appointment; they represent Christ with a great asseveration, highly and strongly asserting that which is nothing to the purpose to which he speaks, nothing to any other purpose at all; and they propound the Jews senselessly offended and foolishly exasperated with those words, which any of them might have spoken as well as he. For the first interpretation makes our Saviour thus to speak: "Do you so much wonder how I should have seen Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Do ye imagine so great a contradiction in this? I tell you, and be ye most assured that what I speak unto you at this time, is most certainly and infallibly true, and most worthy of your observation, which moves me not to deliver it without this solemn asseveration, (*Verily, verily, I say unto you*) Before Abraham shall perfectly become that which was signified in his name, the father of many nations, before the gentiles shall come in, I am. Nor be ye troubled at this answer, or think in this I magnify myself: for what I speak is as true of you, as it is of me; before Abraham be thus made Abraham, ye are. Doubt ye not therefore, as ye did, nor ever make that question again, whether I have seen Abraham." The second explication makes a sense of another nature, but with the same impertinency. "Do ye continue still to question, and that with so much admiration? Do you look upon my age, and ask, Hast thou seen Abraham? I confess it is more than eighteen hundred years since that patriarch died, and less than forty since I was born at Bethlehem: but look not on this computation, for before Abraham was born, I was. But mistake me not, I mean in the foreknowledge and decree of God. Nor do I magnify myself in this, for ye were so." How either of these answers should give any reasonable satisfaction to the question, or the least occasion of the Jews' exasperation, is not to be understood. And that our Saviour should speak any such impertinences as these interpretations bring forth, is not by a Christian to be conceived. Wherefore being the plain and most obvious sense is a proper and full answer to the question, and most likely to exasperate the unbelieving Jews;

but the 24th, from the 23d. *ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀνω-
θεν εἶμι*, and the 28th, either from the
same, or that which is most general, his
office, *ὅτι εἶμι ὁ Χριστός*. Again, ver. 31.
it is very probable that a new discourse is
again begun, and therefore if there were
an ellipsis in the words alleged, it would
have no relation to either of the former
supplies, or if to either, to the latter; but
indeed it hath to neither.

being those strained explications render the words of Christ; not only impertinent to the occasion, but vain and useless to the hearers of them: being our Saviour gave this answer in words of another language, most probably incapable of any such interpretations: we must adhere unto that literal sense already delivered, by which it appeareth Christ had a being, as before John, so also before Abraham (not only before Abram became Abraham, but before Abraham was Abram), and consequently that he did exist two thousand years before he was born, or conceived by the Virgin.

Thirdly, We shall extend this pre-existence to a far longer space of time, to the end of the first world, nay, to the beginning of it. For he which was before the flood, and at the creation of the world, had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin. But Christ was really before the flood, for he preached to them that lived before it; and at the creation of the world, for he created it. That he preached to those before the flood, is evident by the words of St. Peter, who saith, that "Christ was put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." (1 Pet. iii. 18—20:) From which words it appeareth, that Christ preached by the same Spirit, by the virtue of which he was raised from the dead: but that Spirit was not his soul, but something of a greater power. Secondly, That those to whom he preached, were such as were disobedient. Thirdly, That the time when they were disobedient, was the time before the flood, while the ark was preparing.* It is certain then that Christ did preach unto those persons, which in the days of Noah were disobedient all that time the long-suffering of God waited, and consequently, so long as repentance was offered. And it is as certain that he never preached to them after they died; which I shall not need here to prove, because those against whom I bring this argument, deny it not. It followeth therefore, that he preached to them while they lived, and were disobedient; for in the refusing of that mercy, which was offered to them by the preaching of Christ, did their disobedience principally consist. In vain then are we taught to understand St. Peter of the promulgation of the gospel

* Ἀποστόλος πάλιν, ὅτι ἀπὸ ἐξέδιδχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε.

to the gentiles after the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, when the words themselves refuse all relation to any such times or persons. For all those of whom St. Peter speaks, were disobedient in the days of Noah. But none of those to whom the apostles preached, were ever disobedient in the days of Noah. Therefore, none of those to which the apostles preached, were any of those of which St. Peter speaks. It remaineth therefore, that the plain interpretation be acknowledged for the true, that Christ did preach unto those men which lived before the flood, even while they lived, and consequently that he was before it. For though this was not done by an immediate act of the Son of God, as if he personally had appeared on earth, and actually preached to that old world; but by the ministry of a prophet,* by the sending of Noah, the eighth preacher of righteousness:† yet to do any thing by another not able to perform it without him, as much demonstrates the existence of the principal cause, as if he did it of himself without any intervening instrument.

* Prophetæ ab ipso habentes donum in illum prophetaverunt. *Barnabæ Epist.*

† 2 Pet. ii. 5. I have thus translated this place of St. Peter, because it may add some advantage to the argument: for if Noah were the eighth preacher of righteousness, and he were sent by the Son of God; no man, I conceive, will deny that the seven before him were sent by the same Son: and so by this we have gained the pre-existence of another thousand years. However, those words, ἀλλ' ὕδρον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξε, may be better interpreted than they are, when we translate them, *but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness.* For, first, if we look upon the Greek phrase, ὕδρος Νῶε, may not be the eighth person, but one of eight, or Noah with seven more; in which it signifieth not the order in which he was in respect of the rest, but only con-signifieth the number which were with him. As when we read in the Supplices of Æschylus, τὸ γὰρ ταύτων σέβας, τρεῖς τοῖς ἐν θεομίαις δίκαις γήραπται μεγιστοῦτον, we must not understand it, as if honour due to parents, were the third commandment at Athens, but one of the three remarkable laws left at Eleusis by Triptolemus. So Porphyrius, φασὶ δὲ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον Ἀθηναίους νομοθετήσαι, καὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ τρεῖς εἶναι. Εὐνοκράτης δὲ φιλόσοφος λέγει διαμένειν Ἐλευσίνι τούτοις. Γενεῖς τεμῶν

θεῶς κατ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάλλειν Ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι. *De Abstinent.* l. iv. Which words are thus translated by St. Jerome, who hath made use of most part of that fourth book of Porphyrius: *Xenocrates Philosophus de Triptolemi legibus apud Athenienses tantum præcepta in Templo Eleusina residere scribit; Honorandos Parentes, Venerandos Deos, Carnibus non vescendum.* adv. Jovinian. l. ii. Where we see honour due to parents the first precept, though by Æschylus called the third, not in respect of the order, but the number. Thus Dinarchus the orator, Καὶ τὰς Σεμνὰς Διατάξεις ἐκείνους ἱεροποιούς καταστὰς δίκαιος αὐτός. From whence we must not collect that the person of whom he speaks, was the tenth in order of that office, so that nine were necessarily before or above him, and many more might be after or below him; but from hence it is inferred, that there were ten ἱεροποιοὶ waiting on the Σεμνὰς Διατάξεις, and no more, of which number that man was one. After this manner speak the Attic writers, especially Thucydides. And so we may understand St. Peter, that God preserved Noah (a preacher of righteousness) with seven more, of which he deserveth to be named the first, rather than the last or eighth. But, secondly, the original ὕδρον may possibly not belong to the name or person of Noah, but to his title or office; and then we must translate, ὕδρον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα, *Noah the*

The second part of the argument, that Christ made this world, and consequently had a real being at the beginning of it, the Scriptures manifestly and plentifully assure us. For the same Son, by whom in these last days God spake unto us, is he, "by whom also he made the worlds." (Heb. i. 2.) So that as "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God," (Heb. xi. 3.) so must we also believe that they were made by the Son of God.† Which the apostle doth not only in the entrance of his epistle deliver, but in the sequel prove. For shewing greater things have been spoken of him than ever were attributed to any of the angels, the most glorious of all the creatures of God; amongst the rest he saith, the Scripture spake, "Unto the Son, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever." And not only so, but also, "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." (Heb. i. 8. 10—12.) Now whatsoever the person be to whom these words were spoken, it cannot be denied but he was the Creator of the world. For he must be acknowledged the maker of the earth, who laid the foundation of it; and he may justly challenge to himself the making of the heavens, who can say they are the work of his hands. But these words were spoken to the Son of God, as the apostle himself acknowledgeth, and it appeareth out of the order and series of the chapter; the design of which is to declare the supereminent excellency of our Saviour Christ. Nay, the conjunction *and* refers this place of the Psalmist† plainly to the former, of which he

eighth preacher of righteousness. For we read at the birth of Enos, that "men began to call upon the name of the Lord," Gen. iv. 26. which the ancients understood peculiarly of his person: as the LXX. *ὅτε ἤλπισεν ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and the vulgar Latin, *Iste cepit invocare nomen Domini*. The Jews have a tradition, that God sent in the sea upon mankind in the days of Enos, and destroyed many. From whence it seems Enos was a preacher or prophet, and so the rest that followed him; and then Noah is the eighth.

* It being in both places expressed in

the same phrase by the same author, *δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ὑπομένει*, Heb. i. 2. *ἐπιστάμενοι κατηχησάμενοι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ*.

† The answer of Socinus to this conjunction is very weak, relying only upon the want of a comma after *Kai* in the Greek, and *Et* in the Latin. And whereas it is evident that there are distinctions, in the Latin and Greek copies after that conjunction, he flies to the ancientest copies, which all men know were most careless of distinctions, and urgeth that there is no addition of *rursum* or the like after *et*, whereas in the Syriac translation we find expressly that addition *ܐܝܬܐ*.

had said expressly, "but unto the Son he saith." As sure then as "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," was said unto the Son; so certain it is, "Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundations of the earth," was said unto the same. Nor is it possible to avoid the apostle's connexion by attributing the destruction of the heavens, out of the last words, to the Son, and denying the creation of them, out of the first, to the same. For it is most evident that there is but one person spoken to, and that the destruction and the creation of the heavens are both attributed to the same. Whosoever therefore shall grant, that the apostle produced this scripture to shew that the Son of God shall destroy the heavens, must withal acknowledge that he created them: whosoever denieth him to be here spoken of as the Creator, must also deny him to be understood as the destroyer. Wherefore being the words of the Psalmist were undoubtedly spoken of and to our Saviour (or else the apostle hath attributed that unto him which never belonged to him, and consequently the spirit of St. Paul mistook the spirit of David); being to whomsoever any part of them belongs, the whole is applicable, because they are delivered unto one; being the literal exposition is so clear, that no man hath ever pretended to a metaphorical: it remaineth as an undeniable truth, grounded upon the profession of the Psalmist, and the interpretation of an apostle, that the Son of God created the world. Nor needed we so long to have insisted upon this testimony, because there are so many which testify as much, but only that this is of a peculiar nature and different from the rest. For they which deny this truth of the creation of the world by the Son of God, notwithstanding all those scriptures produced to confirm it, have found two ways to avoid or decline the force of them. If they speak so plainly and literally of the work of creation, that they will not endure any figurative interpretation, then they endeavour to shew that they are not spoken of the Son of God. If they speak so expressly of our Saviour Christ, as that by no machination they can be applied to any other person, then their whole design is to make the creation attributed unto him appear to be merely metaphorical. The place before alleged is of the first kind, which speaketh so clearly of the creation or real production of the world, that they never denied it: and I have so manifestly shewed it spoken to

the Son of God, that it is beyond all possibility of gain-saying.

Thus having asserted the creation acknowledged real unto Christ, we shall the easier persuade that likewise to be such, which is pretended to be metaphorical. In the Epistle to the Colossians we read of the Son of God, "in whom we have redemption through his blood:" (Col. i. 14.) and we are sure those words can be spoken of none other than Jesus Christ. He therefore it must be, who was thus described by the apostle; "who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible; whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist." (Col. i. 15—17.) In which words our Saviour is expressly styled the "first-born of every creature,"* that is, begotten by God, as the "Son of his love,"† antecedently to all other emanations, before any thing proceeded from him, or was framed and created by him. And that precedency is presently proved by this undeniable argument, that all other emanations or productions came from him, and whatsoever received its being by creation, was by him created. Which assertion is delivered in the most proper, full, and pregnant expressions imaginable. First, In the vulgar phrase of Moses, as most consonant to his description; "for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth;" signifying thereby, that he speaketh of the same creation. Secondly, By a division which Moses never used, as describing the production only of corporeal substances: lest therefore those immaterial beings might seem exempted from the Son's creation, because omitted in Moses's description, he addeth "visible and invisible;" and lest in that invisible world, among the many degrees of the celestial hierarchy, any order might seem exempted from an essential dependance upon him, he nameth those which are of

* "The first-born of every creature" is taken by Origen for an expression declaring the Divinity of Christ, and used by him as a phrase in opposition to his humanity to express the same. Ἐλέγομεν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι αἱ μὲν τινὲς εἰσι φωναὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἰησοῦ πρωτοτόμου πάσης κτίσεως, ὡς ἡ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ,

καὶ αἱ τοῦτοις παραπλήσια· αἱ δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν νοουμένου ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἡ, Νῦν δὲ με ζῆ- τῶντι ἀποκτείναι, ἀνθροπον δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμεῖν λαλᾶμεν. lib. ii. adv. Celsum.

† In relation to the precedent words, τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, for that υἱὸς ἀγα- πητὸς was the υἱὸς πρωτοτόμος.

greatest eminence, "whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers," and under them comprehendeth all the rest. Nor doth it yet suffice, thus to extend the object of his power by asserting all things to be made by him, except it be so understood as to acknowledge the sovereignty of his person, and the authority of his action. For lest we should conceive the Son of God framing the world as a mere instrumental cause which worketh by and for another, he sheweth him as well the final as the efficient cause; for "all things were created by him and for him." Lastly, Whereas all things first received their being by creation, and when they have received it, continue in the same by virtue of God's conservation, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being;" lest in any thing we should be thought not to depend immediately upon the Son of God, he is described as the conservator, as well as the creator; for "he is before all things, and by him all things consist." If then we consider the two last-cited verses by themselves, we cannot deny but they are a most complete description of the Creator of the world; and if they were spoken of God the Father, could be no way injurious to his majesty, who is no where more plainly or fully set forth unto us as the maker of the world.

Now although this were sufficient to persuade us to interpret this place of the making of the world, yet it will not be unfit to make use of another reason, which will compel us so to understand it. For undoubtedly there are but two kinds of creation in the language of the Scriptures, the one literal, the other metaphorical; one old, the other new; one by way of formation, the other by way of reformation. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," saith St. Paul; and again, "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." (2 Cor. v. 17. Gal. vi. 15. v. 6.) Instead of which words he had before, "faith working by love." "For we are the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." (Ephes. ii. 10.) From whence it is evident, that a new creature is such a person as truly believeth in Christ, and manifesteth that faith, by the exercise of good works; and the new creation is the reforming or bringing man into this new condition, which, by nature and his first creation, he was not in. And therefore he which is so created, is called a new man, in op-

position to "the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts:" (Ephes. iv. 22—24.) From whence the apostle chargeth us to be "renewed in the spirit of our mind, and to put on that new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness; and which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him." (Col. iii. 10.) The new creation then is described to us as consisting wholly in renovation,* or a translation from a worse unto a better condition by way of reformation; by which those who have lost the image of God, in which the first man was created, are restored to the image of the same God again, by a real change, though not substantial, wrought within them. Now this being the notion of the new creation, in all those places which undoubtedly and confessedly speak of it, it will be necessary to apply it unto such scriptures, as are pretended to require the same interpretation. Thus therefore I proceed. If the second or new creation cannot be meant by the apostle in the place produced out of the Epistle to the Colossians, then it must be interpreted of the first. For there are but two kinds of creation mentioned in the Scriptures, and one of them is there expressly named. But the place of the apostle can no way admit an interpretation by the new creation, as will thus appear: the object of the creation, mentioned in this place, is of as great latitude and universality as the object of the first creation, not only expressed, but implied, by Moses. But the object of the new creation is not of the same latitude with that of the old. Therefore that which is mentioned here, cannot be the new creation. For certainly if we reflect upon the true notion of the new creation, it necessarily and essentially includes an opposition to a former worse condition, as the new man is always opposed to the old; and if Adam had continued still in innocency, there could have been no such distinction between the old man and the new, or the old and the new creation. Being then all men become not new; being there is no new creature but such whose faith worketh by

* 'Ανανέωσις or ἀνακαινώσις as the new man, νέος ἄνθρωπος, or καινὸς ἄνθρωπος. The first ὁ ἀναγεύμενος, the last, ὁ ἀνακαινούμενος, both the same. Suidas, Ἀνακαινώσις, ἡ ἀνανέωσις λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀνακαινώσις which is the language of the New Testament. This renovation being thus called καινὴ κτίσις, the ancients framed a proper word for it,

which is, ἀνάκτισις ἐν ᾗ γίνεται πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καινῶν ἀναιεσις. Just. Qu. et Resp. ad Græcos. This new creation doth so necessarily infer an alteration, that it is called by St. Paul a metamorphosis; μεταμορφώσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν. Rom. xii. 2.

love; being so many millions of men have neither faith nor love; it cannot be said that by Christ all things were created anew that are in heaven and that are in earth, when the greatest part of mankind have no share in the new creation. Again, we cannot imagine that the apostle should speak of the creation in a general word, intending thereby only the new, and while he doth so, express particularly and especially those parts of the old creation which are incapable of the new, or at least have no relation to it. The angels are all either good or bad: but whether they be bad, they can never be good again, nor did Christ come to redeem the devils; or whether they be good, they were always such, nor were they so by the virtue of Christ's incarnation, for "he took not on him the nature of angels." We acknowledge in mankind a new creation, because an old man becomes a new; but there is no such notion in the celestial hierarchy, because no old and new angels: they which fell, are fallen for eternity; they which stand, always stood, and shall stand for ever. Where then are the regenerated "thrones and dominions?" Where are the recreated "principalities and powers?" All those angels of whatsoever degrees were created by the Son of God, as the apostle expressly affirms. But they were never created by a new creation unto true holiness and righteousness, because they always were truly righteous and holy ever since their first creation. Therefore except we could yet invent another creation, which were neither the old nor the new, we must conclude, that all the angels were at first created by the Son of God; and as they, so all things else, especially man, whose creation* all the first writers of the church of God expressly attribute unto the Son, asserting that those words, "Let us make man," were spoken as by the Father unto him.

Nor need we doubt of this interpretation, or the doctrine arising from it, seeing it is so clearly delivered by St. John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning

* Ad hoc Dominus sustinuit pati pro anima nostra, cum sit orbis Terrarum Dominus, cui dixit die ante constitutionem seculi, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. *Barnabæ Epist.* c. iv. And again, Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ περὶ ἡμῶν ὡς λέγει τῷ νῦν, Ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα, &c. c. v. Ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὖν Ἰουδαίους τοῦτον μὴ νομίσαισι Θεὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν πολλαχοῦ

μεμαρτυρημένον ὡς μεγάλην ὄντα δύναμιν καὶ Θεόν, κατὰ τὸν δῶκεν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα· τοῦτον γὰρ φαμέν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Μωσέα κοσμοποιῇ προστάττοντα τὸν Πατέρα εἰσπέναι τὸ, Γενήθητω φῶς, καὶ, Γενήθητω στερῆμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὅσα προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι· καὶ τοῦτω εἰσπέναι τὸ, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. *Orig. adv. Celsum*, l. ii.

with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." (John i. 1—3.) Whereas we have proved Christ had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary, because he was at the beginning of the world; and have also proved that he was at the beginning of the world, because he made it; this place of St. John gives a sufficient testimony to the truth of both the last together. "In the beginning was the Word;" and that Word made flesh is Christ: therefore Christ was in the beginning. "All things were made by him:" therefore he created the world. Indeed nothing can be more clearly penned, to give full satisfaction in this point, than these words of St. John, which seem with a strange brevity designed to take off all objections, and remove all prejudice before they teach so strange a truth. Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and his age was known to them for whom this gospel was penned. St. John would teach that this Christ did make the world, which was created at least four thousand years before his birth. The name of *Jesus* was given him since, at his circumcision: the title of *Christ* belonged unto his office, which he exercised not till thirty years after. Neither of these with any show of probability will reach to the creation of the world. Wherefore he produceth a name of his, as yet unknown to the world, or rather not taken notice of, though in frequent use among the Jews, which belonged unto him who was made man, but before he was so. Under that name he shews at first that he had a being in the beginning;* when all things were to be created, and consequently were not yet, then in the beginning was the Word, and so not created. This is the first step, the Word was not created when the world was made. The next is, that the same Word which then was, and was not made, at the same time, was with God,† when he made all things; and therefore well may we conceive it is he to whom "God said, Let

* *Ἐν ἀρχῇ*, the first word of Moses; whence the Syriac translation, *ברשית*. So Solomon, *מראש מקדמי ארץ* *in ἀρχῇ* *πρὸ τοῦ τῆν γῆν ποιῆσαι*. Prov. viii. 23. *In principio erat Sermo*; in quo principio scilicet Deus fecit coelum et terram. Tertul. adv. Hermog. c. 20.

† *Πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν*, that is, *παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ*, that is, by God. As Nonnus, *Πατὴρ ἦν ἀμείροτος, ἀτίμητον σύνθετος ἴδρυ*. As Wisdom speaketh, Prov. viii. 30. *then I was*

by him, *וְאֵנִי וְאֵלֶּיךָ* *ἡμῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ*. Chald. *וְהָיָה צִדְדִּי* *et eram in latere ejus*. Moschopolus, *πρὸς σχεδὸν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, ταυτίσται, μετὰ τῷ Θεῷ*. As Matt. xiii. 16. *Αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πάσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσι*; Mark xiv. 49. *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, 1 Cor. xvi. 6. *πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ τυχεὶν παραμηνῶ*. *Πιστωσιτε μὲν διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστι ἀιώνως παρὰ Πατρὶ ὢν, καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη*. Ignat. ad Magnes.

us make man in our image, after our likeness;" (Gen. i. 26.) and of whom those words may be understood, "Behold, the man is become as one of us." (Gen. iii. 22.) After this, lest any should conceive the creation of the world too great and Divine a work to be attributed to the Word; lest any should object, that none can produce any thing out of nothing but God himself; he addeth, That the Word, as he was with God, so was he also God. Again, lest any should divide the Deity, or frame a false conception of different gods, he returns unto the second assertion, and joins it with the first, "The same was in the beginning with God:" and then delivers that which at the first seemed strange, but now, after those three propositions, may easily be accepted; "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." For now this is no new doctrine, but only an interpretation of those scriptures which told us, God made all things by his Word before. For "God said, Let there be light; and there was light." (Gen. i. 3.) And so "by the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth." (Psal. xxxiii. 6.) From whence "we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God." (Heb. xi. 3. 2 Pet. iii. 5.) Neither was it a new interpretation, but that which was most familiar to the Jews, who in their synagogues, by the reading of the paraphrase* or the

* I conceive this Chaldee paraphrase to represent the sense of the Jews of that age, as being their public interpretation of the Scripture. Wherefore what we find common and frequent in it, we cannot but think the vulgar and general opinion of that nation. Now it is certain that this paraphrast doth often use **מִמְרָא דִּי** *the word of God*, for **יְהוָה** *God himself*, and that especially with relation to the creation of the world. As Isa. xlv. 12. **אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֶרֶץ וָאָדָם עָלֶיהָ בָּרָאתִי** *I made the earth, and created man upon it, saith the Lord, the Holy One of Israel*; which the Chaldee translateth **אֲנִי בְמִמְרֵי עֲבֶרֶת אֶרֶעָא** *I by my word made the earth, and created man upon it*. In the same manner, Jer. xxvii. 5. **אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֶרֶץ וָאָדָם וְכָל חַיָּוָה עַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ** *I made the earth, and men and beasts on the face of the earth*; the Targum **אֲנִי בְמִמְרֵי עֲבֶרֶת יֵת אֶרֶעָא** *And Isa. xlviii. 13. אֶף יְדִי יִסְדָּה אֶרֶץ* *My hand also founded the earth*: the Chaldee **אֶף בְּמִמְרֵי שְׁכֻלָּת אֶרֶעָא** *Etiam*

in verbo meo fundavi terram. And most clearly Gen. i. 27. we read, *Et creavit Deus hominem*: the Jerusalem Targum, *Verbum Domini creavit hominem*. And Gen. iii. 8. *Audierunt vocem Domini Dei*:

the Chaldee paraphrase **וְשָׁמְעוּ יֵת קִל מִמְרָא דִּי** *Et audierunt vocem verbi Domini Dei*. Now this which the Chaldee paraphrase called **מִמְרָא** the Hellenists named **Λόγος** as appeareth by Philo the Jew, who wrote before St. John, and reckons in his Divinity, first **Πατήρ τῶν ὅλων**, then **διούσης Θεῶν, ὃς ἰστίον ἐστίν αὐτοῦ Λόγος**. *Quest. et Solut.* Whom he calls **ἱερόν Θεοῦ Λόγον, ποσειδόνον υἱόν**. *De Agricult.* He attributes the creation of the world to this **Λόγος**, whom he terms **ἑργαῖον Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ (ὁ λόγος) κατασκευάσται, De Flammeo gladio**. **Συνὰ δὲ Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ἰστίον, ὃ καθάπερ ἑργάτης ἀποσκεύαζεν τὴν οἰκουμένην**. *Idem Alleg.* lib. ii. Where we must observe, though Philo makes the **Λόγος**, of whom he speaks, as instrumental in the creation of the world; yet he taketh it not for a bare expression of the will of

interpretation of the Hebrew text in the Chaldee language, were constantly taught, that the Word of God was the same with God, and that by that Word all things were made. Which undoubtedly was the cause why St. John delivered so great a mystery in so few words, as speaking unto them who at the first apprehension understood him. Only that which as yet they knew not was, that this Word was made flesh, and that this Word made flesh was Jesus Christ. Wherefore this exposition being so literally clear in itself, so consonant to the notion of the word, and the apprehension of the Jews; it is infinitely to be preferred before any such interpretation as shall restrain the most universals to a few particulars, change the plainest expressions into figurative phrases, and make of a sublime truth, a weak, useless, false discourse. For who will grant that "in the beginning" must be the same with that in St. John's epistle, "from the beginning," especially when the very interpretation involves in itself a contradiction? For "the beginning" (1 John i. 1.) in St. John's epistle, is that in which the apostles saw, and heard, and touched the Word: "the beginning" in his gospel was that in which "the Word was with God," that is, not seen nor heard by the apostles, but known as yet to God alone, as the new exposition will have it. We will conceive it worthy of the apostle's assertion, to teach that the Word had a being in the beginning of the gospel, at what time John the Baptist

God, but for a God, though in the second degree, and expressly for the Son of God. Nor ought we to look on Philo Judæus in this as a Platonist, but merely as a Jew, who refers his whole doctrine of this Λόγος to the first chapter of Genesis. And the rest of the Jews before him, who had no such knowledge out of Plato's school, used the same notion. For as Isa. xlviii. 13. the *hand of God*, is by the Chaldee paraphrast translated the *Word of God*: so in the book of Wisdom, ἡ παντοδυναμία σου χεὶρ καὶ κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον. Sap. xi. 17. is changed into ἡ παντοδυναμία σου Λόγος ἀπ' αἰώνων, xviii. 15. and Siracides xliii. 26. Ἐν Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ σύγκυται πάντα. Nay, the Septuagint hath changed Shaddai, the undoubted name of the omnipotent God, into Λόγος, the Word, Ezek. i. 24.

קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשׁ quasi vox sublimis Dei, quod Hebraice appellatur קָדֹשׁ, et juxta LXX. ὁμοῦ τοῦ λόγου, id est, vox ceteri, ut universa quæ prædicantur in mundo vocem Filii Dei esse dicamus. St. Hieron. And

therefore Celsus, writing in the person of a Jew, acknowledgeth that the Word is the Son of God. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ἰστὶν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἵκανοῦμεν. Orig. adv. Celsum, l. ii. And although Origen objects that in this Celsus makes the Jew speak improperly, because the Jews which he had conversed with, did never acknowledge that the Son of God was the Word; yet Celsus's Jew did speak the language of Philo: But between the time of Celsus and that of Origen (I guess about three-score years), the Jews had learnt to deny that notion of Λόγος, that they might with more colour reject St. John. If then all the Jews, both they which understood the Chaldee exposition, and those which only used the Greek translation, had such a notion of the Word of God; if all things, by their confession, were made by the Word; we have no reason to believe St. John should make use of any other notion than what they before had, and that by means whereof he might be so easily understood.

began to preach, when we know the Baptist taught as much, who therefore came baptizing with water, that he might be made manifest unto Israel? (John i. 31.) When we are sure that St. Matthew and St. Luke, who wrote before him, taught us more than this, that he had a being thirty years before? When we are assured, it was as true of any other then living as of the Word, even of Judas who betrayed him, even of Pilate who condemned him? Again, who can imagine the apostle should assert that the Word was, that is, had an actual being, when as yet he was not actually the Word? For if "the beginning" be, when John the Baptist began to preach, and the Word, as they say, be nothing else but he which speaketh, and so revealeth the will of God; Christ had not then revealed the will of God, and consequently was not then actually the Word, but only potentially or by designation. Secondly, It is a strange figurative speech, "the Word was with God," that is, was known to God, especially in this apostle's method. "In the beginning was the Word;" there we must signify an actual existence; and if so, why in the next sentence "(the Word was with God)" shall the same verb signify an objective being only? Certainly though to be in the beginning be one thing, and to be with God, another; yet to be in either of them is the same. But if we should imagine this being understood of the knowledge of God, why we should grant that thereby is signified, he was known to God alone, I cannot conceive. For the proposition of itself is plainly affirmative, and the exclusive particle only added to the exposition, maketh it clearly negative. Nay more, the affirmative sense is certainly true, the negative as certainly false. For except Gabriel be God who came to the Virgin; except every one of the heavenly host which appeared to the shepherds, be God; except Zachary and Elizabeth, except Simeon and Anna, except Joseph and Mary, be God; it cannot be true that he was known to God only, for to all these he was certainly known. Thirdly, To pass by the third attribute, "and the Word was God," as having occasion suddenly after to handle it; seeing the apostle hath again repeated the circumstance of time as most material, "the same was in the beginning with God," and immediately subjoined those words, "all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made;" how can we receive any exposition, which referreth not the making of all

these things to him in the beginning? But if we understand the latter part of the apostles, who after the ascension of our Saviour, did nothing but what they were commanded and empowered to do by Christ, it will bear no relation to the beginning. If we interpret the former, of all which Jesus said and did in the promulgation of the gospel, we cannot yet reach to the beginning assigned by the new expositors: for while John the Baptist only preached, while in their sense the Word was with God, they will not affirm that Jesus did any of these things that are here spoken of. And, consequently, according to their grounds, it will be true to say, In the beginning was the Word, and that Word in the beginning was with God, insomuch as in the beginning nothing was done by him, but without him were all things done, which were done in the beginning. Wherefore, in all reason we should stick to the known interpretation, in which every word receiveth its own proper signification, without any figurative distortion, and is preserved in its due latitude and extension, without any curtailling restriction. And therefore I conclude, from the undeniable testimony of St. John, that in the beginning, when the heavens and the earth, and all the hosts of them were created, all things were made by the Word, who is Christ Jesus being made flesh; and, consequently, by the method of argument, as the apostle antecedently by the method of nature, that in the beginning Christ was. He then who was in heaven, and descended from thence before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither, he who was before John the Baptist and before Abraham, he who was at the end of the first world, and at the beginning of the same; he had a real being and existence, before Christ was conceived by the Virgin Mary. But all these we have already shewed belong unto the Son of God. Therefore we must acknowledge, that Jesus Christ had a real being and existence before he was begotten by the Holy Ghost: which is our first assertion, properly opposed to the Photinians.*

* The Photinians were heretics, so called from Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, but born in Gallogræcia, and scholar to Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra. Photinus de Gallogræcia, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii Episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis Hæresin instaurare conatus est. S. Hieron. Catal. Eccl. Photinus, Sirmiënsis Episcopus,

fuit a Marcellis imbutus. Nam et Dialoconus sub eo aliquandiu fuit. Hilary. Frag. Wherefore when Epiphanius speaketh thus of him, αἱρεσις ἀποκρίτω ἀπὸ Σιγῆλου, it hath no relation to the original of his person, but his heresy; of which St. Hilary, "Pestiferè, natum Jesum Christum ex Maria, Pannonia defendit." De Trin. He

The second assertion, next to be made good, is, that the being which Christ had, before he was conceived by the Virgin,

was a man of singular parts and abilities, φῶσις ἔχων εὖ λέγειν, καὶ παιδαγωγικός, says Sozomen. l. iv. c. 6. Ἦναι δὲ οὗτος ὁ φωνητικὸς λόλος τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὀργανισμὸν τὴν γλῶτταν, πολλοὺς δὲ δυνάμεις ἀπαλὴν τῇ τοῦ λόγου περιφορᾷ καὶ ἱστομολογίᾳ. Epiphani. Hær. 71. Erat et ingenii viribus valens, et doctrinæ opibus excellens, et eloquio præpotens, quippe qui utroque sermone copiose et graviter disputaret et scriberet. Vincent. Lirin. c. 16. He is said by some to follow the heresy of Ebion. "Hebionis hæresin instaurare conatus est," says St. Jerome; and St. Hilary ordinarily understanding him by the name of Hebion, and sometimes expounds himself, "Hebion, qui est Photinus." But there is no similitude in their doctrines, Hebion being more Jew than Christian, and teaching Christ as much begotten by Joseph, as born of Mary. Philaster will have him agree wholly with Paulus Samosatenus in omnibus. Epiphanius with an ἀπὸ μέρους, and ἰσχυρῶς. Socrates and Sozomen, with him, and with Sabellius: whereas he differed much from them both, especially from Sabellius, as being far from a Patripassian. Marcellus Sabellianæ hæresis assertor extiterat: Photinus verò novam hæresin jam ante protulerat, a Sabellio quidem in unione dissentiens, sed initium Christi ex Maria prædicabat. Severus Hist. Sacr. Wherefore it will not be unnecessary to collect out of antiquity what did properly belong unto Photinus; because I think it not yet done, and we find his heresy, in the propriety of it, to begin and spread again. Photinus, mentis cæcitate deceptus, in Christo verum et substantiæ nostræ confessus est hominem, sed eundem Deum de Deo ante omnia sæcula genitum esse non credidit. Leo de Nativ. Christi Serm. iv. Ecce Photinus hominem tantum proficitur Dei Filium; dicit illum non fuisse ante beatam Mariam. Lucifer. Clarit. Si quis in Christo sic veritatem prædicat animæ et carnis, ut veritatem in eo nolit accipere Deitatis, id est, qui sic dicit Christum hominem, ut Deum neget, non est Christianus Catholicus, sed Photinianus Hæreticus. Fulg. ad Donat. Φωτιστὸς ψαλὸν ἀνέγνωσεν λέγει τὸν γεννημένον, Θεοῦ μὴ λέγων εἶναι τὸν τέκνον, καὶ τὸν ἐκ μήτρας προεβδόντα, ἀνδρωπῶσι ἰσχυρίζεται διγινώσκον Θεοῦ. Theod. Homil. de Nativ. Ephes. Concil. p. iii. c. 10. Anathematizamus Photinum, qui Hebionis hæresim instaurans, Dominum Jesum Christum tantum ex Maria Virgine confitetur. Damasus Profess. Fidei. Φάρμακον δὲ οὗτος, ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς

Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας καὶ δούρου αὐτὸν ὑπαρχειν, ἔχοντε, φησὶ, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπαλῶσαι ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Epiphani. Ελεγε δὲ ὡς Θεὸς μὲν ἵστι πατοκράτωρ εἶς, ὁ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας τὴν δὲ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων γένεσιν τε καὶ ὑπαρξίν τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐ προσέτετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰσηγαίτο. Sozomen. l. iv. c. 6. Photini ergo secta hæc est. Dicit Deum singulum esse et solitarium, et more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi, aut ullam Spiritus Sancti putat esse personam. Christum verò hominem tantummodò solitarium asserit, cui principium adscribit ex Maria; et hoc omnibus modis dogmatizat, solum nos personam Dei Patris, et solum Christum hominem colere debere. Vinc. Lirinensis adv. Hær. c. 17. In the disputation framed by Vigilius, out of the seventh book of St. Hilary, as I conceive, Photinus rejecting the opinion of Sabellius (whom Socrates and Sozomen said he followed) as impious, thus declares his own: "Unde magis ego dico, Deum Patrem Filium habere Dominum Jesum Christum, ex Maria Virgine initium sumentem; qui per sanctæ conversationis excellentissimum atque inimitabile beatitudinis meritum, a Deo Patre in Filium adoptatus et eximio Divinitatis honore donatus." And again, Ego Domino nostro Jesu Christo initium tribuo, purumque hominem fuisse affirmo, et per beatæ vitæ excellentissimum meritum Divinitatis honorem fuisse adeptum. Vide eundem l. ii. adv. Eutych. Ignorat etiam Photinus magnam pietatis, quod Apostolus memorat, sacramentum, qui Christi ex Virgine fatetur exordium: Et propterea non credit sine initio substantialiter Deum natum ex Deo Patre, in quo carnis veritatem confitetur ex Virgine. Fulg. ad Thrasim. l. i. Greg. Nazianzen, according to his custom, gives a very brief, but remarkable expression; Θετιστὸν τὸν κάτω Χριστὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Μαρίας ἀρχόμενον. Orat. 26. But the opinion of Photinus cannot be better understood, than by the condemnation of it in the council of Sirmium; which having set out the confession of their faith in brief, addeth many and various anathemas, according to the several heresies then apparent, without mentioning their names. Of these, the fifth aims clearly at Photinus. "Si quis secundum præscientiam vel prædestinationem ex Maria dicit Filium esse, et non ante sæcula ex Patre natum, apud Deum esse, et per eum facta esse omnia,

was not any created, but the Divine essence, by which he always was truly, really, and properly God. This will evidently and necessarily follow, from the last demonstration of the first assertion, the creating all things by the Son of God; from whence we inferred his pre-existence, in the beginning assuring us as much that he was God, as that he was, "For he that built all things was God." (Heb. iii. 4.) And the same apostle which assures us, "All things were made by him," at the same time tells us, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Where "In the beginning" must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it cannot be denied unto the second. Therefore "in the beginning, or ever the earth was, the Word was God," (Prov. viii. 23.) the same God with whom he was. For we cannot, with any show of reason, either imagine that he was with one God, and was another, because there can be no more supreme Gods than one; or conceive that the apostle should speak of one kind of God in

Anathema sit." The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, also were particulars directed against him, as St. Hilary hath observed: But the last of all is most material. "Si quis Christum Deum, Filium Dei, ante sæcula subsistentem, et ministrantem Patri ad omnium perfectionem, non dicat, sed ex quo de Mariâ natus est, ex eo et Christum et Filium nominatum esse, et initium accepisse ut sit Deus, dicat, Anathema sit." Upon which, the observation of St. Hilary is this: "Concludi damnatio ejus hæresis, propter quam conventum erat, (that is, the Photinian) expositione totius fidei cui adversabatur, oportuit, quæ initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur." St. Hilary. *de Synod. contra Arianos*. Thus was Photinus bishop of Sirmium condemned by a council held in the same city. They all agreed suddenly in the condemnation of him: Arians, Semi-Arians, and Catholics; καθέλων εὐ-
δοῦς, says Socrates, καὶ τούτω μὲν ὡς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως γινώσκον, πάντες ἐψηφισαν καὶ ὅτε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα. lib. ii. c. 29. And because his history is very obscure and intricate, take this brief catalogue of his condemnations. We read that he was condemned at the council of Nice, and at the same time by a council at Rome under Sylvester: but this is delivered only in a forged Epilogus Concilii Romani. He was then first condemned with Marcellus his master, as Sulpitius Severus relates, probably by the synod at Constantinople; for in that Marcellus was deprived. *Sozom.*

l. ii. 33. *Socrat.* l. i. 36. Secondly, his heresy is renounced in the second synod at Antioch. *Athanas. de Syn. Socrat.* l. i. 19. Thirdly, he was condemned in the council of Sardes. *Epiphani.* and *Sulpitius Severus*. Fourthly, by a council at Milan. *St. Hilar. Fragm.* Fifthly, in a synod at Sirmium, he was deposed by the western bishops; but by reason of the great opinion and affection of the people, he could not be removed. *St. Hilar. Fragm.* Sixthly, he was again condemned and deposed at Sirmium by the eastern bishops, and being convicted by Basil, bishop of Ancyra, was banished from thence. *St. Hilar. Epiph. Socr. Sozom. Vigil.* Indeed, he was so generally condemned not only then, but afterwards under Valentinian, as St. Jerome testifies, and the synodic Epistle of the Aquileian council, that his opinion was soon worn out of the world. Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ διακεκάρθῃ εἰς ὀλίγον χρόνον ὁ ταύτου τοῦ ἡπατημένου αἰῶνας, says Epiphanius, who lived not long after him. So suddenly was this opinion rejected by all Christians, applauded by none but Julian the heretic, who railed at St. John for making Christ God, and commended Photinus for denying it; as appears by an Epistle written by Julian unto him, as it is (though in a mean translation) delivered by Facundus. "Tu quidem, O Photine, verisimilis videris, et proximus salvare, bene faciens nequaquam in utero inducere, quem credidisti Deum." *Facun. ad Justinian.* l. iv.

the second, and of another in the third proposition; in the second, of a God eternal and independent; in the third, of a made and depending God.* Especially, first considering that the eternal God was so constantly among the Jews called "the Word," the only reason which we can conceive, why the apostle should thus use this phrase: and then observing the

* And that upon so poor a ground as the want of an article, because in the first place it is *ἢν ὡρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, in the second, *Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος*, not *ὁ Θεός* from hence to conclude, *ὁ Θεός* is one God, that is, *κατ' ἑξῆς*, the supreme God, *Θεός* another, not the supreme, but one made God by him. Indeed, they are beholden to Epiphanius for this observation, whose words are these: *Ἐὰν ἵπομεν, Θεός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁρ- θρου, τὸν τυχόντα εἰπαμεν Θεὸν τῶν ἰδιῶν, ἢ Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα (or rather οὐχ ὄντα.) ἔὰν δὲ ἵπομεν, ὁ Θεός, ὅλον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁρθρου, τὸν ὄντα σημαίνονμεν ἀληθεῖ τι καὶ γνωστὸν ἔμενον. Samarit. Hæres.* But whosoever shall apply this rule to the sacred Scriptures, will find it most fallacious. In the beginning, *ἑστῆκεν ὁ Θεός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*, undoubtedly belongs to the true and supreme God: but it does not thence follow, that *πνεῦμα Θεοῦ* *ἐπιφέρετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ὕδατος*, should be understood of the spirit of another or inferior God. Certainly St. John when he speaks of the Baptist, *ἐγίνετο ἀνθρώπος ἀπειταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ*, meant, he had his commission from heaven; and when it is spoken of Christ, *ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἑξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι*, and again, *ὁ Θεὸς ἐγενήθησαν*, it must be understood of the true God the Father. In the like manner, *Θεὸν οὐδὲς ἑώρακε πώποτε*, if it were taken *τυχόντως* of any ever called God; nay, even of Christ Jesus as man, it were certainly false. How can then any deny the Word to be the supreme God, because he is called simply *Θεός*, when St. John in the four next places, in which he speaketh of the supreme God, mentioneth him without an article? This criticism of theirs was first the observation of Asterius the Arian, *Οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Χριστὸν κηρύσσειν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ διχα τῆς προσδίδας, δύναμιν Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν· ἄλλω μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἑμμενῆ αὐτῷ καὶ συνεκέρχουσιν ἀγενήτως, κηρύσσειν.* These are the words of Asterius recorded by Athanasius, *Orat. 2. contra Arianos.* In which place, notwithstanding, none can deny but *Θεοῦ* is twice taken without an article for the true and supreme God. Thus Didymus of Alexandria *de Sp. S.* would distinguish between the person and the gift of the

Holy Ghost, by the addition or defect of the article; "Apostoli quando intelligi volunt personam Spiritus Sancti, addunt articulum, τὸ πνεῦμα, sine quo Spiritus Sancti dona notantur." And Athanasius objects against his adversaries denying the Holy Ghost to be God, that they produced places out of the prophets to prove him a creature, where *πνεῦμα* had not so much as an article prefixed, which might give some colour to interpret it of the Holy Spirit. *οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ ἄεθρον ἔχῃ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ προφῆτου λεγόμενον τὸν πνεῦμα, ἵνα καὶ πρόσθεν ἔχῃ.* *Epist. ad Serapionem.* Whereas we find in the same place of St. John, the same Spirit in the same sense mentioned with and without an article. *Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος,* John iii. 5. and τὸ γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, ver. 6. So 1 John iv. 1. *Μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα.* And again, *Ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκατε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ· πᾶς πνεῦμα, &c.* And beside, according to that distinction, τὸ πνεῦμα certainly stands for the gift of the Spirit, 1 Thess. v. 19. *τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε.* In the like manner, it is so far from truth, that the Scriptures observe so much the articles, as to use *ὁ Θεός* always for the true and supreme God, and *Θεός* for the false or inferior; that where the true is professedly opposed to the false, even there he is styled simply *Θεός*. As, *Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες Θεὸν, ἰδωλεύσατε τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσι Θεοῖς· Νῦν δὲ γινώτες Θεὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ Θεοῦ,* Gal. iv. 8, 9. And where the supreme is distinguished from him whom they make the inferior God, he is called likewise *Θεός* without an article: as, *Δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,* *ἀφορισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ,* and *τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει,* Rom. i. 1. 4. *Ἀποστόλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ,* 1 Cor. i. 1. 2 Cor. i. 1. Eph. i. 1. Col. i. 1. And if this distinction were good, our Saviour's argument to the Pharisees were not so: *Εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐμβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἅρα ἔφασκεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ,* Matth. xii. 28. For it doth not follow, that if by the power of an inferior or false god he cast out devils, that therefore the kingdom of the true and supreme God is come upon them.

manner of St. John's writing, who rises strangely by degrees, making the last word of the former sentence the first of that which followeth: as, "In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not: so, in the beginning was the Word, and the Word," (John i. 4, 5.) which so was in the beginning, "was with God, and the Word was God;" that is, the same God with whom the Word was in the beginning. But he could not be the same God with him any other way, than by having the same Divine essence. Therefore the being which Christ had, before he was conceived by the Virgin, was the Divine nature, by which he was properly and really God.

Secondly, He who was subsisting in the form of God, and thought himself to be equal with God (in which thought he could not be deceived, nor be injurious to God), must of necessity be truly and essentially God; because there can be no equality between the Divine essence, which is infinite, and any other whatsoever, which must be finite. But this is true of Christ, and that antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, and existence in his human nature. For, "being (or rather subsisting)* in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but emptied himself, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." (Phil. ii. 6, 7.) Out of which words naturally result three propositions fully demonstrating our assertion. First, That Christ was in the form of a servant, as soon as he was made man. Secondly, That he was in the form of God, before he was in the form of a servant. Thirdly, That he was in the form of God, that is, did as truly and really subsist in the Divine nature, as in the form of a servant or in the nature of man. It is a vain imagination, that our Saviour then first appeared a servant, when he was apprehended, bound, scourged, crucified. For they were not all slaves which ever suffered such indignities, or died that death; and when they did, their death did not make, but find them, or suppose them servants. Beside, our Saviour in all the degrees of his humiliation never lived as a servant unto any master on earth. It is true, at first he was subject, but as a son, to his reputed father, and undoubted mother. When he appeared in public, he lived after the manner of a

* *In effigie Dei constitutus. Tertull. In figura Dei constitutus. Cypr.*

prophet, and a doctoe sent from God, accompanied with a family as it were of his apostles, whose master he professed himself, subject to the commands of no man in that office, and obedient only unto God. The form then of a servant which he took upon him, must consist in something distinct from his sufferings, or submission unto men; as the condition in which he was, when he so submitted and so suffered. In that he was "made flesh, sent in the likeness of sinful flesh," (Rom. viii. 3.) subject unto all infirmities and miseries of this life, attending on the sons of men fallen by the sin of Adam: in that he was "made of a woman, made under the law," (Gal. iv. 4.) and so obliged to perform the same; which law did so handle the children of God, as that they differed nothing from servants: in that he was born, bred, and lived in a mean, low, and abject condition; "as a root out of a dry ground, he had no form nor comeliness, and when they saw him, there was no beauty that they should desire him; but was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief:" (Isa. liii. 2, 3.) In that he was thus made man, he "took upon him the form of a servant." Which is not mine, but the apostle's explication; as adding it not by way of conjunction, in which there might be some diversity, but by way of apposition, which signifieth a clear identity. And therefore it is necessary to observe, that our translation of that verse is not only not exact, but very disadvantageous to that truth, which is contained in it. For we read it thus; "He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." Where we have two copulative conjunctions, neither of which is in the original text,* and three distinct propositions, without any dependence of one upon the other; whereas all the words together are but an expression of Christ's exinanition, with an explication shewing in what it consisteth: which will clearly appear by this literal translation, "But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." Where if any man doubt how Christ emptied himself, the text will satisfy him, "by taking the form of a servant;" if any still question

* 'ΑΛΛ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιότητι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, which is also exactly observed by the vulgar Latin, *Sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus*, where γενόμενος is added by apposition to λαβὼν, and have both equal relation to ἐκένωσε; or, which is all one, ἐκένωσε λαβὼν, ἔλαβε γενόμενος.

how he took the form of a servant, he hath the apostle's resolution, "by being made in the likeness of men." Indeed, after the expression of this exinanition, he goes on with a conjunction, to add another act of Christ's humiliation; "And being found in fashion as a man," (Phil. ii. 8.) being already by his exinanition in the form of a servant, or the likeness of men; "he humbled himself, and became (or rather becoming),† obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." As therefore his humiliation consisted in his obedience unto death, so his exinanition consisted in the assumption of the form of a servant, and that in the nature of man. All which is very fitly expressed by a strange interpretation in the Epistle to the Hebrews. For whereas these words are clearly in the Psalmist, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened:" (Psal. xl. 6.) the apostle appropriateth the sentence to Christ; "When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me." Now being the boring of the ear under the law, (Exod. ii. 1. 6. Deut. xv. 17.) was a note of perpetual servitude, being this was expressed in the words of the Psalmist, and changed by the apostle into the preparing of a body; it followeth that when Christ's body first was framed, even then did he assume the form of a servant.

Again, it appeareth out of the same text, that Christ was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, and consequently, before he was made man. For he which is presupposed to be, and to think of that being which he hath, and upon that thought to assume, must have that being before that assumption; but Christ is first expressly said to be in the form of God, and, being so, to think it no robbery to be equal with God, and notwithstanding that equality, to take upon him the form of a servant: therefore it cannot be denied but he was before in the form of God. Beside, he was not in the form of a servant, but by the emptying himself, and all exinanition necessarily presupposeth a precedent plenitude; it being as impossible to empty any thing which hath no fullness, as to fill any thing which hath no emptiness. But the fulness which Christ had, in respect whereof assuming the

* Ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γερόμανος ἑωυτοῦ. and his farther humiliation, or *εὐταπείνωτος*. For in both these verses there is but one conjunction, joining together two acts of our Saviour, his first exinanition or *ἐκένωσας*, the rest are all participles added for explication to the verbs.

form of a servant, he is said to empty himself, could be in nothing else but in the form of God, in which he was before. Wherefore, if the assumption of the form of a servant be contemporary with his exinanition; if that exinanition necessarily presupposeth a plenitude as indispensably antecedent to it; if the form of God be also coeval with that precedent plenitude; then must we confess, Christ was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant: which is the second proposition.

Again, it is as evident from the same scripture, that Christ was as much in the form of God, as the form of a servant, and did as really subsist in the Divine nature, as in the nature of man. For he was so in the form of God, as thereby to be equal with God.* But no other form beside the es-

* Τὸ αἶσα Ἰσα Θεῷ. *Pariari Deo. Tertul. Esse se equalem Deo. S. Cyprian. Esse equalis Deo. Leporius.* Thus all express the notion of equality, not of similitude: Nor can we understand any less by τὸ εἶναι Ἰσα, than τὸν ἰσότητα, Ἰσος and Ἰσα being indifferently used by the Greeks, as Pindarus. *Olymp. Ode 2.* Ἴσον δὲ νύκτισσιν αἰεὶ, Ἰσα δ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἄλ-σιν ἔχοντες, ἀσπινύστερον ἔσθλαι νύμμεται βλο-τον. So whom the Greeks call ἰσότης, Homer Ἰσα θεῷ. *Odys. O.*

Τὸν νῦν Ἰσα θεῷ ἰσαχέσις ἰσότητος.

Where Ἰσα has not the nature of an adverb, as belonging to ἰσότητος, but of a noun referred to the antecedent τὸν, or including an adverb added to a noun, τὸν νῦν ἰσότητος. The collection of Grotius from this verse is very strange; εἶναι Ἰσα Θεῷ, est spectari tanquam Deum. As if he should have said ἰσότητος signifies spectant, therefore εἶναι signifies spectari. This he was forced to put off thus, because the strength of our interpretation, rendering an equality, lies in the verb substantive τὸ εἶναι. As Dion. of Alexandria very anciently, κενώσας ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ταπεινώσας ἑαυτοῦ, θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, Ἰσα Θεῷ ὑπάρχει. *Epist. ad Paulum Samosat.* For we acknowledge that Ἰσα by itself oft-times signifieth no more than *instar*, and so inferreth nothing but a similitude: as we find it frequently in the book of Job. Where it sometimes answereth to the inseparable particle כִּי; as, כָּלִילָה, quasi in nocte, Ἰσα νυκτὶ, v. 14. כְּנֶבֶה, sicut caesum, Ἰσα τυφῷ, x. 10. כְּרֶקֶב, quasi putredo, Sym. ὁμοίως σπασσέν, LXX. Ἰσα ἄσπῳ, xiii. 21. כַּמִּים, sicut aquam, Ἰσα

νοτῷ, xv. 16, כַּעֵץ, tanquam lignum, Ἰσα ξύλῳ, xxiv. 20. כַּחֲמֹר, sicut lutum, Ἰσα πηλῷ, כַּמְעִיל, xxvii. 16. sicut vestimento, Ἰσα διπλοῖδι, xxix. 14. כַּבָּקֶר, quasi hos, Ἰσα βοσὴν, xl. 15. Where we see the vulgar Latin useth for the Hebrew, כִּי quasi, sicut, tanquam, the LXX. Ἰσα. Sometimes it answereth to no word in the original, but supplieth a similitude understood, not expressed, in the Hebrew: as וְיָדָא, tanquam pullum, Ἰσα ὄνῳ, xi. 12.

וְאֶבֶן, et lapis, Ἰσα λίθῳ, xxviii. 2. לַחֲמֹר, luto, Ἰσα πηλῷ, xxx. 19. Once it rendereth an Hebrew word rather according to the intention, than the signification; כִּשְׁלִי אֶפֶר, comparabitur cineri, ad verbum proverbs cineris, Ἰσα σωδῷ, xiii. 12. So that in all these places it is used adverbially for *instar*, and in none hath the addition of τὸ εἶναι to it. As for that answer of Socinus, that Christ cannot be God, because he is said to be equal with God, Tantum abest ut ab eo, quod Christus sit equalis Deo, sequatur ipsum esse æternum et summum Deum, ut potius ex hoc ipso necessario consequatur non esse æternum et summum Deum. Nemo enim sibi ipsi equalis esse potest. *Soc. ad 8 c. Weik.* as if there could be no predication of equality, where we find a substantial identity: it is most certainly false, because the most exact speakers use such language as this is. There can be no expressions more exact and pertinent than those which are used by geometricians, neither can there be any better judges of equality than they are; but they most frequently use that expression in this no-

sential, which is the Divine nature itself, could infer an equality with God. : "To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal, saith the Holy One?" (Isa. xl. 25. xli. 5.) There can be but one infinite, eternal, and independent Being; and there can be no comparison between that and whatsoever is finite, temporal, and depending. He therefore who did truly think himself equal with God, as being in the form of God, must be conceived to subsist in that one infinite, eternal and independent nature of God. Again, the phrase, "in the form of God," not elsewhere mentioned, is used by the apostle with respect unto that other, of "the form of a servant," exegetically continued "in the likeness of man;" and the respect of one unto the other is so necessary, that if the form of God be not as real and essential as the form of a servant, or the likeness of man, there is no force in the apostle's words, nor will his argument be fit to work any great degree of humiliation upon the consideration of Christ's exinanition. But by the *form* is certainly understood the true condition of a servant, and by the *likeness* infallibly meant the real nature of man: nor doth the *fashion*, in which he was found, destroy, but rather assert the truth of his humanity. And therefore, as sure as Christ was really and essentially man, of the same nature with us, in whose similitude he was made: so certainly was he also really and essentially God, of the same nature and being with him, in whose form he did subsist. Seeing then we have clearly evinced from the express words of St. Paul, that Christ was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man; that he was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant; that the form of God in which he subsisted, doth as truly signify the Divine, as the likeness of man the human nature; it necessarily followeth, that Christ had a real existence before he was begotten of the Virgin, and that the being which he had, was the Divine essence, by which he was truly, really and properly God.

tion, proving an equality, and inferring it from identity. As in the fifth proposition of the first Element of Euclid, two lines are said to contain an angle equal to the angle contained by two other lines, because they contained the same angle, or *γωνίαν κοινήν* and the basis of one triangle is supposed equal to the basis of another triangle, because the same line was basis

to both, or *βάσις κοινή*. In the same manner certainly may the Son be said to be equal to the Father in essence or power, because they both have the same essence or power, that is, *οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν κοινήν*. Ocell. de Universo. "ΑΛΛ' αἰὶ κατὰ ταῦτ' καὶ ἑαυτὸς διατελεῖ καὶ ἴσιν καὶ ἕμῃσιν αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ. p. 11.

Thirdly, He which is expressly styled Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, without any restriction or limitation, as he is after, so was before any time assignable, truly and essentially God. For by this title God describeth his own being, and distinguisheth it from all other. "I the Lord, the first, and with the last, I am he. I am he, I am the first, I also am the last. I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God." (Isa. xli. 4. xlviii. 12. xlv. 6.) But Christ is expressly called Alpha and Omega, the first and the last. He so proclaimed himself by "a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last." (Rev. i. 11.) Which answereth to that solemn call and proclamation in the prophet, "Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called." (Isa. xlviii. 12.) He comforteth St. John with the majesty of this title, "Fear not, I am the first and the last." (Rev. i. 17.) Which words were spoken by "one like unto the Son of man," (ver. 13.) by him "that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore;" (ver. 18.) that is undoubtedly, by Christ. He upholdeth the church of Smyrna in her tribulation by virtue of the same description. "These things saith the first and the last, which was dead and is alive." (Rev. ii. 8.) He ascertaineth his coming unto judgment with the same assertion, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." (Rev. xxii. 13.) And in all these places, this title is attributed unto Christ absolutely and universally, without any kind of restriction or limitation, without any assignation of any particular in respect of which he is the first or last; in the same latitude and eminence of expression,* in which it is or can be attributed to the supreme God. There is yet another scripture, in which the same description may seem of a more dubious interpretation: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." (Rev. i. 8.) For being it is the Lord who so calls himself, which title belongeth to the Father and the Son, it

* With the article so much elsewhere stood upon, τὸ α καὶ τὸ ω, ὁ ἀρχαῖος, καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, *The Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last.* For we must not take τὸ α as the grammarians do, by which they signify only the letter written in that figure, and called by that name. As appeareth by Eratosthenes, who was called

ἄλφα, not τὸ ἄλφα, as Suidas corruptly. Hesychius Illustrius, from whom Suidas had that passage; Ἐρατοσθένης διὰ τὸ διατελεῖν παντὶ εἶδὸς αὐαδίας τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἰσχυρὸν, ἄλφα ἐκλήθη. And Martianus Heracleota in Periplo, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων Ἐρατοσθένης, ὃν ἄλφα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ τοῦ Μουσίου περὶστάρται.

may be doubted whether it be spoken by the Father or the Son; but whether it be understood of the one or of the other, it will sufficiently make good what we intend to prove. For if they be understood of Christ, as the precedent and the following words imply, then is he certainly that "Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty;" that is, the supreme eternal God, of the same Divine essence with the Father, who was before described by "him which is, and which was, and which is to come," (Rev. i. 4.) to whom the six-winged beasts continually cry, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come:" (Rev. iv. 8.) as the familiar explication of that name which God revealed to Moses. (Exod. iii. 14.) If they belong unto the supreme God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; then did he so describe himself unto St. John, and express his supreme Deity, that by those words, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending," he might be known to be the one almighty and eternal God; and, consequently, whosoever should assume that title, must attribute as much unto himself. Wherefore being Christ hath so immediately, and with so great solemnity and frequency, taken the same style upon him by which the Father did express his Godhead; it followeth, that he hath declared himself to be the supreme, almighty, and eternal God. And being thus the Alpha and the first, he was before any time assignable, and consequently before he was conceived of the Virgin; and the being which then he had was the Divine essence, by which he was truly and properly the almighty and eternal God.

Fourthly, He whose glory Isaiah saw in the year that king Uzziah died, had a being, before Christ was begotten of the Virgin, and that being was the Divine essence, by which he was naturally and essentially God; for he is expressly called "the Lord, Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of hosts, whose glory filleth the whole earth;" (Isa. vi. 1. 3.) which titles can belong to none beside the one and only God. But Christ was he whose glory Isaiah saw, as St. John doth testify, saying, "These things said Esaias, when he was his glory, and spake of him:" (John xii. 41.) and he whose glory he saw, and of whom he spake, was certainly Christ: for of him the apostle treateth in that place, and of none but him. "These things spake Jesus and departed. (ver. 36.) But though he (that is, Jesus) had done so many miracles before them, yet they be-

lied not on him," (ver. 37.) that is, Christ who wrought those miracles. The reason why they believed not on him was, "That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report?" (ver. 38.) and as they did not, so they could not believe in Christ, "because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them." (ver. 39, 40.) For those who, God foresaw, and the prophet foretold, should not believe, could not do it without contradicting the prescience of the one, and the predictions of the other. But the Jews refusing to assent unto the doctrine of our Saviour, were those of whom the prophet spake: for "these things said Esaias when he saw his glory, and spake of him." (ver. 41.) Now if the glory which Isaias saw, were the glory of Christ, and he of whom Isaiah in that chapter spake, were Christ himself; then must those blinded eyes and hardened hearts belong unto these Jews, and then their infidelity was so long since foretold. Thus doth the fixing of that prophecy upon that people, which saw our Saviour's miracles, depend upon Isaiah's vision, and the appropriation of it unto Christ. Wherefore St. John infallibly hath taught us, that the prophet saw the glory of Christ, and the prophet hath as undoubtedly assured us, that he whose glory then he saw, was the one omnipotent and eternal God; and consequently both together have sealed this truth, that Christ did then subsist in that glorious majesty of the eternal Godhead.

Lastly, He who, being man, is frequently in the Scriptures called God, and that in such a manner, as by that name no other can be understood but the one only and eternal God, he had an existence before he was made man, and the being which then he had, was no other than the Divine essence; because all novelty is repugnant to the Deity, nor can any be that one God, who was not so from all eternity. But Jesus Christ, being in the nature of man, is frequently in the sacred Scriptures called God; and that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one almighty and eternal God.

Which may be thus demonstrated. It hath been already proved, and we all agree in this, that there can be but one Divine essence, and so but one supreme God. Wherefore

were it not said in the Scriptures, there are many gods ; did not he himself who is supreme, call others so ; we durst not give that name to any but to him alone, nor could we think any called God to be any other but that one. It had been then enough to have alleged that Christ is God, to prove his supreme and eternal Deity : whereas now we are answered, that there are gods many, and therefore it followeth not from that name, that he is the one eternal God. But if Christ be none of those many gods, and yet be God ; then can he be no other but that one. And that he is not to be numbered with them, is certain, because he is clearly distinguished from them, and opposed to them. We read in the Psalmist, "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High." (Psal. lxxxii. 6.) But we must not reckon Christ among those gods, we must not number the only-begotten Son among those children. For "they knew not, neither would they understand, they walked on in darkness : " (ver. 5.) and whosoever were gods only as they were, either did, or might do so. Whereas Christ, in whom alone dwelt "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," (Col. ii. 9.) is not only distinguished from, but opposed to, such gods as those, by his disciples saying, "Now we are sure that thou knowest all things;" (John xvi. 30.) by himself proclaiming, "I am the light of the world : he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness." (John viii. 12.) St. Paul hath told us, "there be gods many, and lords many;" (1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.) but withal hath taught us, that "to us there is but one God, the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ." In which words, as the Father is opposed as much unto the many lords, as many gods ; so is the Son as much unto the many gods, as many lords ; the Father being as much Lord as God, and the Son as much God as Lord. Wherefore being we find in Scripture frequent mention of one God, and beside that one an intimation of many gods, and whosoever is called God, must either be that one, or one of those many ; being we find our blessed Saviour to be wholly opposed to the many gods, and consequently to be none of them, and yet we read him often styled God ; it followeth, that that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one almighty and eternal God.

Again, those who deny our Saviour to be the same God with the Father, have invented rules to be the touchstone of

the eternal power and Godhead. First, Where the name of God is taken absolutely, as the subject of any proposition, it always signifies the supreme power and majesty, excluding all others from that Deity. Secondly, Where the same name is any way used with an article, by way of excellency, it likewise signifieth the same supreme Godhead as admitting others to a communion of Deity, but excluding them from the supremacy. Upon these two rules they have raised unto themselves this observation, That whosoever the name of God absolutely taken is placed as the subject of any proposition, it is not to be understood of Christ: and wheresoever the same name is spoken of our Saviour by way of predicate, it never hath an article denoting excellency annexed to it; and consequently leaves him in the number of those gods, who are excluded from the majesty of the eternal Deity.

Now though there can be no kind of certainty in any such observations of the articles, because the Greeks promiscuously often use them or omit them, without any reason of their usurpation or omission (whereof examples are innumerable:) though if those rules were granted, yet would not their conclusion follow, because the supreme God is often named (as they confess) without an article, and therefore the same name may signify the same God when spoken of Christ, as well as when of the Father, so far as can concern the omission of the article: yet to complete my demonstration, I shall shew, first, That the name of God taken subjectively is to be understood of Christ. Secondly, that the same name with the article affixed is attributed unto him. Thirdly, that if it were not so, yet where the article is wanting, there is that added to the predicate, which hath as great a virtue to signify that excellency as the article could have.

St. Paul, unfolding the mystery of godliness, hath delivered six propositions together, and the subject of all and each of them is God. "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." (1 Tim. iii. 16.) And this God which is the subject of all these propositions must be understood of Christ, because of him each one is true, and all are so of none but him; he was the Word which was God, and was made flesh, and consequently "God manifested in the flesh." Upon him the Spirit descended at

his baptism, and after his ascension was poured upon his apostles, ratifying his commission, and confirming the doctrine which they received from him; wherefore he was God "justified in the Spirit." His nativity the angels celebrated, in the discharge of his office they ministered unto him, at his resurrection and ascension they were present, always ready to confess and adore him: he was therefore "God seen of angels." The apostles preached unto all nations, and he whom they preached was "Jesus Christ." (Acts viii. 5. 35. ix. 20. xi. 20. xvii. 3. 18. xix. 13.) The Father separated St. Paul from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son unto him, that he might preach him among the heathen; (Gal. i. 15, 16.) therefore he was God "preached unto the gentiles." John the Baptist spake "unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus." (Acts xix. 4.) "We have believed in Jesus Christ," (Gal. ii. 16.) saith St. Paul, who so taught the gaoler trembling at his feet, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." (Acts xvi. 31.) he therefore was God "believed on in the world." When he had been forty days on earth after his resurrection, he was taken visibly up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father: wherefore he was God "received up into glory." And thus all these six propositions, according to the plain and familiar language of the Scriptures, are infallibly true of Christ, and so of God, as he is taken by St. John, when he speaks those words, "the Word was God." But all these cannot be understood of any other, which either is, or is called, God. For though we grant the Divine perfections and attributes to be the same with the Divine essence, yet are they never in the Scriptures called God; nor can any of them with the least shew of probability be pretended as the subject of these propositions, or afford any tolerable interpretation. When they tell us that God, that is, the will of God,* "was manifested in the flesh," that is, was revealed by frail and mortal men, "and received up into glory," that is, was received gloriously on earth,† they teach us a language which the Scriptures‡ know not, and the Holy Ghost never used, and as no attributes, so no person but the Son can be

* Deus, i. e. voluntas ipsius de servandis hominibus, per homines infirmos et mortales perfecte patefacta est, &c. Catech. Rarov. ad Quest. 59.

† Insignem in modum et summa cum gloria recepta fuit. 16.

‡ For Θεός is not δέλαμα Θεού, much less is ἐμπίπτειν received or embraced:

here understood under the name of God: not the Holy Ghost, for he is distinguished from him, as being justified by the Spirit; not the Father, who was not manifested in the flesh, not received up into glory. It remaineth therefore, that, whereas the Son is the only person to whom all these clearly and undoubtedly belong, which are here jointly attributed unto God, as sure as the name of God is expressed universally in the copies* of the original language, so thus ab-

Elias speaketh not of his reception, but his ascension, when he saith to Elisha, *Τί ποιῶ σοι πρὶν ἢ ἀναληφθῆναι ἀπὸ σοῦ*; 2 Kings ii. 9. and *Ἐὰν ἴδῃς με ἀναλαμβάνοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἵσταί σοι οὐρανός*. When he actually ascended, as the original *ἔγρη*, it is no otherwise translated by the Septuagint, than ἀνελήφθη Ἡλιοῦ ἐν συννεφίμῳ εἰς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Which language was preserved by the Hellenizing Jews: 'Ο ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρός, Sirac. xlviii. 9. and again, ἀνελήφθη Ἰωὴς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, 1 Mac. ii. 58. Neither did they use it of Elias only, but of Enoch also. *Οὐδὲ εἰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδὸς ὁ Ἐνῶχ, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνελήφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*. The same language is continued in the New Testament of our Saviour's ascension, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, Mar. xvi. 19. ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀπ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, Acts i. 11. and singly, ἀνελήφθη, Acts i. 2. and ἀνελήφθη ἀπ' ἡμῶν, Acts i. 22. As therefore ἀνάληψις τοῦ Μωϋσέως, in the language of the Jews, was not the reception of Moses by the Israelites, but the assumption of his body; so ἀνάληψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ is the ascension of Christ, Luke ix. 51. Wherefore this being the constant notion of the word, it must so be here likewise understood, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ as the vulgar Latin, (whose authority is pretended against us), *assumptum est in gloria*; rendering it here by the same word by which he always translated ἀνελήφθη.

* For being the epistle was written in the Greek language, it is enough if all those copies do agree. Nor need we be troubled with the observation of Grotius on the place: "Suspectam nobis hanc lectionem faciunt interpretes veteres, Latinus, Syrus, Arabs, et Ambrosius, qui omnes legerunt ὁ ἑφανέρωθη." I confess the vulgar Latin reads it otherwise than the Greek, "Quod manifestatum est in carne;" and it cannot be denied but the Syriac, however translated by Tremellius, agreeth with the Latin; and both seem to have read ὁ instead of Θεός. But the joint consent of the Greek copies and interpreters are above the authority of these two tran-

slators; and the Arabio set forth in the Biblia Polyglotta agreeth expressly with them. But that which Grotius hath farther observed is of far greater consideration: "Addit Hincmarus opusculo 55. illud Θεός hic positum a Nestorianis." For if at first the Greeks read ὁ ἑφανέρωθη, and that ὁ were altered into Θεός by the Nestorians, then ought we to correct the Greek copy by the Latin, and confess there is not only no force, but not so much as any ground or colour for our arguments. But first, it is no way probable that the Nestorians should find it in the original ὁ, and make it Θεός, because that by so doing they had overthrown their own assertion, which was, that God was not incarnate, nor born of the Virgin Mary; that God did not ascend unto heaven, but Christ by the Holy Ghost remaining upon him, καὶ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ χειροῦμενον. *Concil. Ephes. par. i. cap. 17.* Secondly, it is certain that they did not make this alteration, because the catholic Greeks read it Θεός before there were such heretics, so called Nestoriani a Nestorio Episcopo, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano, *Aug. Heres. Nestorius*, from whom that heresy began, was Patriarch of Constantinople after Sisinnius, Sisinnius after Atticus, Atticus after Nectarius, who succeeded Joannes, vulgarly called Chrysostomus. But St. Chrysostom read not ὁ, but Θεός, as appears by his Commentaries upon the place; Θεός ἑφανέρωθη ἐν σαρκί, ταῦτόστιν, ὁ δημιουργός. And St. Cyril, who by all means opposed Nestorius upon the first appearance of his heresy, wrote two large epistles to the Queens Palcheria and Eudocia, in both which he maketh great use of this text. In the first, after the repetition of the words as they are now in the Greek copies, he proceeded thus; Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερώθηκε; ἡ δὲ ἰστορία, ἐν παντί τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρός λόγος οὕτως γὰρ ἵσταται μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, Θεός ἑφανέρωθη ἐν σαρκί. Wherefore in St. Paul he read Θεός God, and took that God to be the Word. In the second, repeating the same text verbatim, he manageth it thus against Nestorius; Εἰ Θεός ὁ ὁ

solutely and subjectively taken must it be understood of Christ.

Again, St. Paul speaketh thus to the elders of the church of Ephesus; "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." (Acts xx. 28.) In these words this doctrinal proposition is clearly contained, God hath purchased the church with his own blood. For there is no other word either in or near the text which can by any grammatical construction be joined with the verb, except the Holy Ghost, to whom the predicate is repugnant, both in respect of the act, or our redemption, and of the means, the blood. If then the Holy Ghost hath not purchased the church; if he hath not

λέγος ἑνανθρωπήσαι λόγους, καὶ οὐ θεῶν μεθεῖς τὸ εἶναι θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ διαμένον, μέγα δὲ τότε καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἔστι τὸ τῆς εὐαγγελίας μυστήριον· εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπος νοῦται κοινὸς ὁ Χριστός, πῶς ἐν σαρκὶ πεφανέρωται; καὶ τοι πῶς οὐχ ἅπασιν ἑαγός, οὐκ ἅπας ἀνθρώπος ἐν σαρκὶ τε ἔστι, καὶ οὐχ ἂν ἰτέρως ὁρῶτό τισι. And in the explanation of the second anathematism, he maketh use of no other text but this to prove the hypostatical union, giving it this gloss or exposition: Τί ἔστι τὸ, ἑαγώην ἐν σαρκὶ; τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, γέννησιν σάρξ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, &c. The same he urgeth in his Scholion de Unigeniti Incarnatione. So also Theodoret contemporary with St. Cyril: θεὸς γὰρ ὁ καὶ τοῦ πλὴν, καὶ ἀγαπῶν ἔχον τὴν φύσιν, διὰ τοῦτο ἑνανθρωπήσας ἔγενετο, σαφὲς δὲ ἡμῶς δύο φύσεις ἰδιδάξαι, ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ τὴν θέαν ἐκφανείσθαι φύσιν. Thirdly, Hincmarus does not say that the Nestorians put θεός into the Greek text, but that he which put it in was cast out of his bishoprick for a Nestorian. His words are these: "Quidam nimirum ipsas Scripturas verbis illicitis imposturaverunt: sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus, qui ab Anastasio Imperatore ideo a Civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit Evangelia, et illum Apostoli locum ubi dicit, quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu per cognitionem Græcarum literarum, O in Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit Qui, hoc est OZ monosyllabum Græcum, litera mutata O in Θ vertit; et fecit ΘΖ, id est ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem. Quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus." *Hincm. Opus*. l. c. 18. Now whereas Hincmarus says expulsus legiur, we read not in Euagrius, or the Excerpta of Theodotus, or in

Joannes Malala, that Macedonius was cast out of his bishoprick for any such falsation. It is therefore probable that he had it from Liberatus, a deacon of the church of Carthage, who wrote a Breviary, collected partly out of the ecclesiastical histories and acts of the councils, partly out of the relations of such men as he thought fit to believe, extant in the fourth tome of the councils. In which, chap. xxix. we have the same relation, only with this difference, that O is not turned into Θ, but into Ω, and so OZ becomes not ΘΖ, but ΩΖ. So that the first Greek copies are not said to have read it θ, but ζ, and so not to have relation to the mystery, but to the person of Christ; and therefore this makes nothing for the vulgar Latin. Secondly, whereas Hincmarus says there was but one letter changed, no such mutation can of OZ make ΘOZ, it may ΩΖ, as we read in Liberatus; and then this is nothing to the Greek text. Thirdly, Macedonius was no Nestorian, but Anastasius an Eutychian, and he ejected him, not as he did other catholic bishops under the pretence of Nestorianism, but for other reasons. However, Macedonius could not falsify all the Greek copies, when as well those which were before his time, as those which were written since, all acknowledge θεός. And if he had been ejected for substituting θεός, without question Anastasius would have taken care for the restoring ζ, which we find not in any copy. It remaineth therefore that the Nestorians did not falsify the text by reading θεός ἑαγώην, but that the ancient Greek fathers read it so; and, consequently, being the Greek is the original, this Lection must be acknowledged authentic.

blood to shed for our redemption, and "without bloodshed there is no remission;" if there be no other word to which, according to the literal construction, the act of purchasing can be applied: if the name of God, most frequently joined to his church,* be immediately and properly applicable by all rules of syntax to the verb which followeth it: then is it of necessity to be received as the subject of this proposition, then is this to be embraced as infallible Scripture-truth, God hath purchased the church with his own blood. But this God may and must be understood of Christ; it may, because he hath; it must, because no other person which is called God hath so purchased the church. We "were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ." (1 Pet. i. 18, 19.) With this price were we bought; and therefore it may well be said, that Christ our "God hath purchased us with his own blood." But no other person which is, or is called, God, can be said so to have purchased us, because it is an act belonging properly to the mediatorship; and "there is but one Mediator between God and men:" and the church is "sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." (Heb. x. 10.) Nor can the expression of this act, peculiar to the Son, be attributed to the Father, because this blood signifieth death: and though the Father be omnipotent, and can do all things, yet he cannot die. And though it might be said that he purchased us, because he gave his Son to be a ransom for us, yet it cannot be said that he did it by his own blood; for then it would follow, that he gave not his Son, or that the Son and the Father were the same person. Beside, it is very observable, that this particular phrase of "his own blood," is in the Scripture put by way of opposition to the blood of another;† and howsoever we may attribute the

* Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. For though the church be properly the church of Christ, Matt. xvi. 18. Col. i. 24. and in the plural we read once αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Rom. xvi. 16. as we do of the churches of God, 1 Cor. xi. 16. 2 Thess. i. 4. 1 Thess. ii. 24. yet ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, is frequently used; as 1 Cor. i. 2. x. 32. xv. 9. xi. 22. 2 Cor. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 5. 15. but ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ not once named. And therefore we have no reason to alter it in this text, or to fancy it first written χροῦ, and then made Θεοῦ, when it is so often written Θεοῦ, not Χριστοῦ. Some MSS. as

the Alexandrian, Cantabrigian, and New Coll. MSS. read it τοῦ Κυρίου, and the interpreter of Irenæus, *regere Ecclesiam Domini*, l. iii. c. 14. Others represent Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, followed by the Arabic interpreter; which makes not at all against our argument; but, because in this particular unusual, not like to be true. The Syriac translating it *Christi*, (ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) not *Domino*, as it is in the Latin translation) gives rather an exposition than a version.

† ἴδιον αἷμα is opposed to αἷμα ἀλλοτρίον. And therefore it is observable,

acts of the Son unto the Father, because sent by him; yet we cannot but acknowledge that the blood and death was of another than the Father. "Not by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place;" (Heb. ix. 12.) and whereas "the high-priest entered every year with the blood of others, Christ appeared once to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." (Ver. 25, 26.) He then which purchased us wrought it by his own blood, as a high-priest opposed to the Aaronical, who made atonement by the blood of others. But the Father taketh no priestly office, neither could he be opposed to the legal priest, as not dying himself, but giving another. Wherefore where-soever the Father and the Son are described together as working the salvation of man, the blood by which it is wrought is attributed to the Son, not to the Father: as when St. Paul speaketh of the "redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness;" (Rom. iii. 24, 25.) his, that is, his own righteousness, hath reference to God the Father; but his, that is, his own blood, must be referred to Christ the Son. When he glorifieth the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, attributing unto him, that he hath blessed, elected, predestinated, adopted, accepted us, made known unto us the mystery of his will, and gathered us together in one; in the midst of this acknowledgment he brings in "the Beloved in whom we have redemption through his blood," (Eph. i. 6, 7.) as that which cannot be attributed to the Father. Christ hath blessed us; and the apostle saith the Father hath blessed us: which is true, "because he sent his Son to bless us." (Acts iii. 26.) Christ hath made known unto us the will of his Father; and the apostle saith, the Father "hath made known unto us the mystery of his will;" (Eph. i. 9.) because he sent his Son to reveal it. Christ hath delivered us; and the Father is said to "deliver us from the power of darkness:" (Col. i. 13.) not that we are twice delivered, but because the Father delivereth us by his Son.

that the author of the Racovian Catechism, in his Answer to this place of Scripture, doth never make the least mention of *ἰδὼν* or *proprium*, but only affirms that the blood of Christ may be called the blood of God the Father; *et totidem verbis* did Socinus answer to Wiekus before, but in his whole Answer

concealed the force of *ἰδὼν*: whereas the strength of our argument lies in those words, *διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*; or, as the Alexandrian MSS. and one mentioned by Beza, *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*.

* Rom. iii. 25. "Ὁν ἀποδείκνυσι ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, εἰς ἰνδιξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ."

And thus these general acts are familiarly attributed to them both; but still a difference must be observed and acknowledged in the means and manner of the performance of these acts. For though it is true, that the Father and the Son revealed to us the will of God; yet it is not true that the Father revealed it by himself to us; but that the Son did so, it is. They both deliver us from sin and death; but the Son "gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us;" (Gal. i. 4.) the Father is not, cannot be said to have given himself, but his Son; and therefore the apostle giveth thanks unto the Father, "who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood." (Col. i. 13, 14.) Now this blood is not only the blood of the new covenant, and consequently of the Mediator; but the nature of this covenant is such, that it is also a testament, and therefore the blood must be the blood of the testator; "for where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator." (Heb. ix. 16.) But the testator which died is not, cannot be, the Father, but the Son; and, consequently, the blood is the blood of the Son, not of the Father. It remaineth therefore that God, who purchased the church with his own blood, is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, or any other which is called God, but only Jesus Christ the Son of God, and God. And thus have I proved the first of the three assertions, that the name of God absolutely taken and placed subjectively, is sometimes to be understood of Christ.

The Second, That the name of *God* invested by way of excellency with an article, is attributed in the Scriptures unto Christ, may be thus made good. He which is called *Emmanuel* is named *God* by way of excellency; for that name, saith St. Matthew, "being interpreted, is God with us;" (Matt. i. 23.) and in that interpretation the Greek* article is prefixed. But Christ is called *Emmanuel*; "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel." (Ver. 22, 23.) Therefore he is that "God with us," which is expressed by way of excellency, and distinguished from all other who are any ways honoured with that name: for it is

* Καὶ καλῶς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουὴλ, ὃ ἔστι, μεθεμνησόμενοι, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.

a vain imagination to think that Christ is called *Emmanuel*, but that he is not what he is called : as “Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah Nissi,” (Exod. xvii. 15.) and Gideon another called “Jehovah Shalom;” (Judg. vi. 24.) and yet neither altar was Jehovah: as Jerusalem was called “the Lord our righteousness;” (Jer. xxxiii. 16.) and yet that city was not the Lord. Because these two notions, which are conjoined in the name *Emmanuel*, are severally true of Christ. First, he is *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, for he hath “dwelt among us:” (John i. 14.) and when he parted from the earth, he said to his disciples, “I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.”* Secondly, he is *El*, and that name was given him, as the same prophet testifieth, “For unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God.” (Isa. ix. 6. אֵל נִבֹּר.) He then who is both properly called *El*, that is, *God*, and is also really *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, he must infallibly be that Emmanuel who is “God with us.” Indeed, if the name Emmanuel were to be interpreted by way of a proposition, “God is with us,” as “the Lord our righteousness,” and “the Lord is there,” (Ezek. xlviii. 35.) must be understood where they are the names of Jerusalem; then should it have been the name not of Christ, but of his church: and if we under the gospel had been called so, it could have received no other interpretation in reference to us. But being it is not ours, but our Saviour’s name, it bears no kind of similitude with those objected appellations, and is as properly and directly to be attributed to the Messiah as the name of Jesus. Wherefore it remaineth that Christ be acknowledged God with us, according to the evangelical interpretation, with an expression of that excellency which belongeth to the supreme Deity.

Again, he to whom St. Thomas said, “My Lord and my God,” (John xx. 28.) or rather, “The Lord of me, and the God of me;” he is that God before whose name the Greek article is prefixed, which they require, by way of excellency. But St. Thomas spake these words to Christ.† For Jesus spake

* Matt. xxviii. 20. Ἐγὼ μετ’ ὑμῶν εἰμι.

† Indeed it hath been answered, that these words are not to be referred to Christ, but to God the Father. So Theodore Mopsuestenus in his Commentary on St. John; “Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, Dominus meus et Deus meus dicit,

non ipsum Dominum et Deum dicens (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat et Deum esse eum qui resurrexit) sed quasi pro miraculoso facto Deum colaudat.” Syn. V. Collat. 4. As if Thomas had intended only to have praised God for raising Christ. But, first, it is plain

unto Thomas, and Thomas answered and said unto him, "My Lord and my God." And in these words* he made confession of his faith; for our Saviour replied, "Thomas, because

that Thomas answered Christ; secondly, that he spake unto him, that is to Christ, and, consequently, that the words which he spake belong to Christ; thirdly, that the words are a confession of his faith in Christ, as our Saviour doth acknowledge. And whereas Franciscus Davidis did object, that in a Latin Testament he found not *et dixit ei*, but *et dixit* without *ei*, it is sufficiently discountenanced by Socinus in his epistle, affirming that all the Greek and Latin copies had it, except that one which he had found: and therefore the omission must be imputed to the negligence of the printer.

* Ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου. Either in these words there is an ellipsis of *εἰ σὺ*, *Thou art my Lord, thou art my God*: or an antipthesis, the nominative case used for the vocative, as *Ἐλπί, Ἐλπί, ὁ θεός μου, ὁ θεός μου*, Mark xv. 34. *Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ*, Mark xiv. 36. and *Χαίρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, John xix. 3. If it be an ellipsis of the verb *εἶ*, so frequent in the Scriptures, and of the person sufficiently understood in the preceding pronoun, then is it evident that *ὁ θεός* is attributed unto Christ; for then St. Thomas said unto him, *Thou art ὁ θεός μου*. If it be an antipthesis, though the construction require not a verb, yet the signification virtually requireth as much, which is equivalent; for he acknowledgeth him as much God while he calleth him so, as if he did affirm him to be so. Neither can it be objected that the article *ὁ* serveth only in the place of *εἶ*, as signifying that the nominative is to be taken for the vocative case; because the nominative may as well stand vocatively without an article, as *Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς Δαβὶδ*, Matt. i. 20. and *Ἐλπίσσω ἡμεῖς, Κύριε, υἱὸς Δαβὶδ*, Matt. xx. 30, 31. and therefore when the vocative is invested with an article, it is as considerable as in a nominative. And being these words were an expression of the apostle's faith, as Christ understood and approved them, they must contain in them, virtually at least, a proposition; because no act of our faith can be expressed, where the object is not at least a virtual proposition. And in that proposition, *ὁ θεός* must be the predicate, and Christ, to whom these words are spoken, must also be the subject. It cannot therefore be avoided, but that St. Thomas did attribute the name of God to our Saviour with an article. Indeed to me there is no doubt but St.

Thomas in these words did make as true and real a confession of his faith concerning the person of Christ, as St. Peter did, when he answered and said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God," Matt. xvi. 16. and, consequently, that *ὁ κύριος* and *ὁ θεός* do as properly belong unto him, as St. Peter's *ὁ Χριστός* and *ὁ υἱός*. As therefore Christ said to his disciples, *Vos vocatis me ὁ διδάσκαλος, καὶ ὁ κύριος, et bene dicitis, sum etenim*, John xiii. 13. so he might have replied to Thomas, "You call me *ὁ κύριος*, and *ὁ θεός*; and you say well, for I am so." As for the objection of Socinus, that though *θεός* be here spoken of Christ, and that with an article *ὁ*, yet that article is of no force because of the following pronoun *μου*: it is most groundless: for the article *ὁ* cannot have relation to the following pronoun *μου*, *ἐπεὶ πῶς ἡ ἀπαράδεικτος ἀντωνυμία τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν γενικῇ πτώσει εὐθείας ἄρθρον παραδέχεται*: as that great critic Apollonius Alexandrinus observes, l. i. de Syntax. c. 38. And if for *μου*, it were *ὁ ἡμεῖς*, yet even that article would belong to *θεός*, for in these words, *ὁ θεός ὁ ἡμεῖς*, neither article belongs to *ἡμεῖς*, but both to *θεός* for, as the same critic observes in the same case, *τὰ δύο ἄρθρα εἰς μίαν τὴν εὐθείαν ἀναφέρονται οὐκ ἄρα ἐν τῷ, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἡμεῖς, κατηνάγκασται τὸ ἔπαιον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντωνυμίαν φέρεσθαι*. So that if *ὁ θεός* be the supreme God, then *ὁ θεός μου* must be my supreme God: as when David speaks to God *ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός μου, πρὸς σὺ ἐρεβξω*, Psal. lxii. 1. the latter is of as great importance as the former. So again, Psal. xlii. 5. *ἐξομολογήσομαι ἐν καρδίᾳ, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός μου* and xlix. 5. *ὁ θεός ἐμφανὲς ἔξει, ὁ θεός ἡμῶν* and lxx. 13. *ὁ θεός μὴ μακρότης ἀπ' ἡμῶν, ὁ θεός μου*. I dare not therefore say to any person that *ὁ θεός* is *ὁ θεός μου*, except that I do believe that he is *ὁ θεός*. Wherefore I conclude that the words of St. Thomas, *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου*, are as fully and highly significant as those of David, *Πρόσχω τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεισιπείας μου, ὁ βασιλεὺς μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου*, Psal. v. 2. or those, *ὁ θεός μου καὶ ὁ κύριός μου, εἰς τὴν δικήν μου*, Psal. xxxv. 23. or those, *τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου, κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ βασιλεὺς μου, καὶ ὁ θεός μου*, Psal. lxxiv. 3. or those of St. John in the Revelation, as they lie in the Alexandrian and Complutensian copies. *Ἄξιός ἐστι, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεός ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος, λαβεῖν, &c.* or that lastly in the most ancient hymn, *κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*——ἐλθέτω ἡμεῖς.

thou hast seen me, thou hast believed.” And let him be the Lord of me, and the God of me, who was the Lord and the God of an apostle.

Nor have we only their required testimony of Christ's supreme Divinity, but also an addition of verity asserting that supremacy. For he is not only termed *the God*, but, for a farther certainty, *the true God*: and the same apostle, who said the Word was God, lest any cavil should arise by any omission of an article, though so frequently neglected by all, even the most accurate authors, hath also assured us that he is the true God. For, “we know (saith he) that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true: and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.”* (1 John v. 20.) As therefore we read in the Acts, of the “word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ; he is Lord of all:” (Acts x. 36.) where it is acknowledged that the Lord of all is by the pronoun *he*† joined unto Jesus Christ, the immediate, not unto God, the remote antecedent; so likewise here the true God is to be referred unto Christ, who stands next unto it, not unto the Father, spoken of indeed in the text, but at a distance. There is no reason alleged why these last words should not be referred to the Son of God, but only this, that in grammatical construction they may be ascribed to the Father. As, when “another king arose which knew not Joseph, the same dealt subtilly with our kindred;” (Acts vii. 18, 19.) the same referreth us not to Joseph, but to the King of Egypt. Whereas, if nothing else can be objected but a possibility in respect of the grammatical construction, we may as well say that Joseph dealt subtilly with his kindred as the King of Egypt; for whatsoever the incongruity be in history, it makes no solecism in the syntax. Wherefore being Jesus Christ is the immediate antecedent to which the relative may properly be referred; being the Son of God is he of whom the apostle chiefly speaketh; being this is rendered as a reason why we are in him that is true, by being in his Son, to wit, because that Son is the true God; being in the language of St. John the constant title of our Saviour is “eternal life;”

* Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. Hic agitur non solum de vero Deo, ἱεροσολήμις sic γάρην αὐτὸ ἐστιν ἱερὸς, sed de illo uno vero Deo, ut articulus quæ est deserta.
 † Οὗτος for. ὁς, as Acts viii. 26. ἀπὸ αἰώνος.
 in Græco additus indicat. Catech. Racov.

being all these reasons may be drawn out of the text itself, why the title of *the true God* should be attributed to the Son, and no one reason can be raised from thence, why it should be referred to the Father; I can conclude no less, than that our Saviour is *the true God*, so styled in the Scriptures by way of eminency, with an article prefixed, as the first Christian writers which immediately followed the apostles did both speak and write.*

But, Thirdly, Were there no such particular place in which the article were expressed, yet shall we find such adjuncts fixed to the name of God when attributed unto Christ, as will prove equivalent to an article, or whatsoever may express the supreme Majesty. As when St. Paul doth magnify the Jews, "out of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen." (Rom. ix. 5.) First, it is evident that *Christ* is called *God*,† even

* Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. Ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, Id. Ep. ad Eph. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκπορεύμενος ὑπὸ Μαρίας. Ib. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν Πατρὶ ὡν μᾶλλον φαίνεται. Ep. ad Rom. Τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος τὰ λόγια καὶ πλάσματα ἡμῶν. Cl. Alex. adv. Gentes. And it was well observed by the author of the *Mixta Λαβύρινθος*, written about the beginning of the third century, that not only the ancient fathers before him, as Justin, Miltiades, Tatianus, Clemens, Irenæus, Melito, &c. did speak of Christ as God, but that the hymns also penned by Christians from the beginning did express Christ's Divinity. *Ύμνοι δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὅσαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσιν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογῶντες.* And the epistle of Pliny to Trajan testifies the same. "Quod essent soliti statō die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere."

† Though some would leave *God* out of the text, upon this pretence, because St. Cyprian, in lib. ii. *adv. Judæos*, citing this place, leaves it out. But that must needs be by the negligence of some of the scribes, as is evident, First, because Manutius and Morellius found the word *Deus* in their copies, and both the MSS. which Pamelius used acknowledge it. Secondly, because St. Cyprian produceth the text to prove *quod Deus Christus*; and reckoneth it among the rest in which he is called expressly *God*. Thirdly, because Tertullian, whose disciple St. Cyprian professed himself, did both so read it, and so use it. "Solum autem Christum

potero Deum dicere, sicut idem Apostolus: Ex quibus Christus, qui est (inquit) Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne." *Adv. Præf.* And again in the same book; "Hunc et Paulus conspexit, nec tamen Patrem vidit. Nonne, inquit, vidi Jesum? Christum autem et ipsum Deum cognominavit: Quorum Patres et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est per (vel super) omnia Deus benedictus in ævum." Novatianus de Trin. useth the same argument. And another ancient author very expressly; "Rogo te, Deum credis esse Filium, an non? Sine dubio, responsurus es, Deum; quia etsi negare volueris, sanctis Scripturis convinceris, dicente Apostolo, Ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula." So also St. Aug, "Non solum Pater Deus est, sicut etiam omnes Hæretici concedant, sed etiam Filius; quod, velint nolint, coguntur fateri, dicente Apostolo, Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula." *De Trin.* l. ii. c. 13. *et contra Faustum* l. xvi. c. 15. As for the objection, that St. Chrysostom doth not signify in his commentaries that he read *θεός* in the text; I answer, that neither does he signify that he read *ὁ ἐν παντί*, for in his exposition he passeth over wholly *ὁ ἐν παντί θεός*, but it doth not follow that he read not *ὁ ἐν παντί* in the text. But when he repeats the words of the apostle, he agrees wholly with the Greek text, *ὁ ἐν παντί θεός ἐκλογητός* and Theodoret, who lived not long after him, doth not only acknowledge the words, but give a full exposition of them: *Ἡμεὺς μὲν ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς*

he who came of the Jews, though not as he came of them, that is, according to the flesh, which is here distinguished from his Godhead.* Secondly, he is so called God as not to be any of the many gods, but the one supreme or most high God;† for he is God over all. Thirdly, he hath also added the title of *blessed*, which of itself elsewhere signifieth the supreme God,‡ and was always used by the Jews to express that one God of Israel. Wherefore it cannot be conceived St. Paul should write unto the Christians, most of which then were converted Jews or proselytes, and give unto our Saviour not only the name of God, but also add that title which they always gave unto the one God of Israel, and to none but him; except he did intend they should believe him to be the same God whom they always in that manner, and under that notion, had adored. As therefore the apostle speaketh of “the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore;” (2 Cor. xi. 31.) of “the Creator, who is blessed

σάρκα προσθήκη παραδηλώσαι τοῦ θεοπύτου Χριστοῦ τὴν θεότητα· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ προομῳ εἰρηκώς, τοῦ γινόμενου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, ἐπήγαγε, τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει· οὕτως ἐνταῦθα εἰπὼν, το κατὰ σάρκα, προστίθειται τὸ, ὃν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. As for the omission of *Deus* in St. Hilary on the Psalms, it must of necessity be attributed to the negligence of the scribe, not to the reading of the father. For how he read it, he hath clearly expressed in his books de Trinitate: “Non ignorat Paulus Christum Deum, dicens, Quorum sunt Patres, et ex quibus Christus qui est super omnia Deus. Non hic creatura in Deum deputatur, sed creaturam Deus est, qui super omnia Deus est.” The pretence therefore of Erasmus from the fathers is vain; and as vain is that of Grotius from the Syriac translation, which hath in it the name of God expressly, as well as all the copies of the original, and all the rest of the translations, **רַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים דַּעַל כָּל**

* Τὸ κατὰ σάρκα opposed unto τὸ κατὰ πνεῦμα. As Rom. i. 3. where κατὰ σάρκα is used without an article, because κατὰ πνεῦμα, to which it is opposed, followeth, and so the opposition is of itself apparent. But here being κατὰ πνεῦμα is not to be expressed in the following words, the article τὸ, signifying of itself a distinction or exception, sheweth that it is to be understood.

† Ὁ ὃν ἐπὶ πάντων. Not in omnibus, as Erasmus, nor *super omnes*, as Beza, with respect to the fathers, which should have

been ἐπὶ πάντων αὐτῶν but, as the vulgar translation, and the ancient fathers before that, *super omnia*, ἐπὶ for ἐπάνω, as John iii. 31. ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν, which signifieth no less than עָלֵי the ordinary name of God, ὁ ὑψίστος, the most high, as it is taken for the supreme God by itself, Acts vii. 48. and is described, Psal. xvii. 9. “Ὅτι σὺ εἰ Κύρις, ὁ ὑψίστος ἐπὶ πάντων τὴν γῆν, σφόδρα ὑπερυψώθηκες ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς.”

‡ As Mark xiv. 61. Σὺ εἰ εἰς χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ; Art thou the Christ the Son of the blessed? where the vulgar attribute is taken for God himself, which is usually added to the name of God, as 2 Cor. xi. 31. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ ὃν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας or to any description of him; as ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν. And these expressions of St. Paul are consonant to the ancient custom of the Jews, who, when the priests in the sanctuary rehearsed the name of God, were wont to answer, *Blessed be his name for ever*. Inasmuch as the *Blessed One* did signify in their language as much as the *Holy One*, and both, or either of them, the God of Israel. Hence are so frequent in the rabbins, **הַקֹּדֶשׁ בְּרִיד הוּא** the *Holy Blessed One*, and **בְּרִיד הוּא** the *Blessed One*, that they are written by abbreviation, **הַקְבִּי** or **הַקְבִּיָּה** and the *infinite Blessed One*, **אֱלֹהֵינוּ**. *Blessed be God for ever*, *Amen* and *Amen*, **בְּיָלָא** and **יִיִּלָּא**.

for ever, Amen ;" (Rom. i. 25.) and thereby doth signify the supreme Deity, which was so glorified by the Israelites ; and doth also testify that we worship the same God under the gospel which they did under the law : so doth he speak of Christ in as sublime a style, " who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen ;" and thereby doth testify the equality, or rather identity, of his Deity. If we consider the scope of the apostle, which is to magnify the Israelites by the enumeration of such privileges as belonged peculiarly to that chosen nation (the most eminent of which was contained in the genealogy of our Saviour), we shall find their glory did not consist in this, that Christ at first was born of them a man, and afterwards made a God, for what great honour could accrue to them by the nativity of a man, whose Godhead is referred not to his birth, but to his death ? whereas this is truly honourable, and the peculiar glory of that nation, that the most high God blessed for ever should " take on him the seed of Abraham," and come out of the Israelites as concerning the flesh. Thus every way it doth appear, the apostle spake of Christ as of the one eternal God.

He then who was the Word which in the beginning was with God, and was God ; he whose glory Isaias saw as the glory of the God of Israel ; he who is styled Alpha and Omega without any restriction or limitation, he who was truly subsisting in the form of God, and equal with him before he was in the nature of man ; he who being man is frequently called God, and that in all those ways by which the supreme Deity is expressed ; he had a being before Christ was conceived by the Virgin Mary, and the being which he had was the one eternal and indivisible Divine essence, by which he always was truly, really, and properly God. But, all these are certainly true of him in whom we believe, Jesus Christ, as hath been proved by clear testimonies of the sacred Scriptures. Therefore the being which Christ had before he was conceived of the Virgin, was not any created, but the Divine essence ; nor was he any creature, but the true eternal God : which was our second assertion, particularly opposed to the Arian heresy.*

* This heresy was so called from two who bare the same name, and fell at the same time into the same opinion ; one of them being a presbyter, and rector of a church in Alexandria, the other a deacon : as Alexander the bishop of Alexandria, in his epistle extant in Theodoret : Εἰς δὲ οἱ ἀναθεματισθέντες αἰρεσιῶται, ἀπὸ προσ-
βυτέρων μὲν, Ἀρείος, ἀπὸ διακόνων δὲ, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Εὐζώιος, Ἀρείος ἱερος, &c. In the epistle of the Arians to Alexander, he is reckoned amongst the Presbyters ; Ἀρείος,

The third assertion, next to be demonstrated, is, That the Divine essence which Christ had as the Word, before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary, he had not of himself, but by communication from God the Father. For this is not to be denied, that there can be but one essence properly Divine, and so but one God of infinite wisdom, power, and majesty; That there can be but one person originally of himself subsisting in that infinite being,* because a plurality of more persons so subsisting, would necessarily infer a multiplicity of gods; that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is originally God, as not receiving his eternal being from any other. Wherefore it necessarily followeth that Jesus Christ, who is certainly not the Father, cannot be a person subsisting in the Divine nature originally of himself; and, consequently, being we have already proved that he is truly and properly the eternal God, he must be understood to have the Godhead communicated to him by the Father, who is not only eternally, but originally God. "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine,"† saith Christ; because in him is the same fulness of the Godhead, and more than that the Father cannot have; but yet in that perfect and absolute equality there is notwithstanding this disparity, that the Father hath the Godhead not from the Son, or any other, whereas the Son hath it from the Father: Christ is the true God and eternal life; but that he is so, is from the Father: "for as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself,"‡ not by participation, but by communication. It

"Αιθαλῆς, Ἀχλλᾶς, Καρπώτης, Σαρματᾶς, Ἄριος, πρεσβύτεροι. Of these two Phœbadius contra Arian. Patrem et filium esse non unam personam, ut Sabellius, aut duas substantias, ut Arij, c. 25. The heresy is so well known, that it needs no explication: and indeed it cannot be better described than in the anathematism of the Nicene council. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἢ πότε ὅτι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἰτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τριπλὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Thus translated by St. Hilary; "Eos autem qui dicunt, erat quando non erat, et antequam nasceretur non erat, et quod de non extantibus factus est, vel ex alia substantia aut essentia, dicentes hos anathematizat Catholica Ecclesia."

* Ἐνα γὰρ οἶδαμεν ἀγέννητον, καὶ μίαν τῶν

πάντων ἀρχὴν τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. St. Basil. Ep. 78. "Ἐν ἀγέννητον, ὁ Πατήρ. Alex. Ep. apud Theodoretum.

† John xvi. 15. Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατήρ, τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐστίν, ὡς ἔμπανιν τὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς· οὐδὲν οὖν ἴδιον, ὅτι κοινὰ, ἵπτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι κοινὸν καὶ ὁμότιμον, εἰ καὶ τὸ υἱὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς. S. Greg. Nas. Orat. 2. de Filio.

‡ John v. 26. Hoc dixit, Vitam dedit Filio ut haberet eam in semetipso, tanquam diceret Pater, qui est vita in semetipso, genuit, Filium qui esset vita in semetipso. Pro eo enim quod est genuit, voluit intelligi dedit, tanquam si cuiquam diceremus, dedit tibi Deus esse. S. Aug. Et paulo post, Quid ergo Filio dedit? dedit ei ut Filius esset; genuit ut vita esset; hoc est, dedit habere ei vitam in semetipso, ut esset vita non egens vita, ne participando intelligatur habere vitam. Si enim

is true, our Saviour was so in the form of God, that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God: but when the Jews sought to kill him because he "made himself equal with God," he answered them, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do:?"* by that connexion of his operations, shewing the reception of his essence; and by the acknowledgment of his power, professing his substance from the Father. From whence he which was equal, even in that equality confesseth a priority, saying, "The Father is greater than I."† The Son equal in respect of his nature, the Father greater in reference to the communication of the Godhead. "I know him (saith Christ), for I am from him." (John vii. 29.) And because he is from the Father,‡ therefore he is called by those of the Nicene council, in their Creed, *God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God*. The Father is God, but not of God, light, but not of light: Christ is God, but of God; light, but of light. There is no difference or inequality in the nature or essence, because the same in both; but the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath that essence of himself, from none; Christ hath the same not of himself, but from him.

participando haberet vitam non in semetipso, posset et amittendo esse sine vita: hoc in Filio ne accipias, ne cogites, ne eredas. Manet ergo Pater vita, manet et Filius vita. Pater vita in semetipso, non a Filio; Filius vita in semetipso, sed a Patre. So again, de Trinit. l. i. c. 12. Plerumq; dicit, *dedit mihi Pater*; in quo vult intelligi quod eum genuerit Pater: non ut tanquam jam existenti et non habenti dederit aliquid, sed ipsum dedisse ut haberet, genuisse ut esset.

* John v. 18, 19. Tanquam diceret, Quid scandalizati estis quia Patrem meum dixi Deum, quia æqualem me facio Deo? Ita sum æqualis, ut non ille a me, sed ego ab illo sim. Hoc enim intelligitur in his verbis, non potest Filius a se facere quicquam, &c. hoc est quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, a Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet a Patre ut faciat? quia a Patre habet ut possit, quia a Patre habet ut sit. Filio enim hoc est esse quod posse. St. Aug. in locum. Paulo post, Hoc est, Non potest Filius a se quicquam facere, quod esset, si diceret, non est Filius a se. Etenim si Filius est, natus est; si natus est, ab illo est de quo natus est.

† *Δὴλον ὅτι τὸ μὴ ὂν μὲν ἔστι τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ὂν τῆς φύσεως.* St. Gr. Naz. Orat. 2. de Filio.

‡ So St. August. hath observed, "Ab

ipso, inquit, sum, quia Filius de Patre, et quicquid est filius, de illo est cujus est filius: Ideo Dominum Jesum dicimus Deum de Deo; Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo, sed tantum Deum: Et dicimus Dominum Jesum lumen de lumine; Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen; ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, ab ipso sum". From hence then did the Nicene council gather those words of their Creed, *Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινόν, ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*. But not immediately, for they were partly in some of the Oriental Creeds before; as appeareth by that confession which Eusebius presented to the council, as containing what he had believed and taught ever since his baptism, in which he had these words, *καὶ εἰς ἡμὰς Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς*. And as Eusebius calls him *Life of Life*, so others, *Power of Power, and Wisdom of Wisdom*. Ideo Christus virtus et sapientia Dei, quia de Patre virtute et sapientia etiam ipso virtus et sapientia est, sicut lumen de Patre lumine, et fons vite apud Deum Patrem utique fontem vite. St. Aug. de Trin. l. vii. c. 3. And not only so, but *Essence of Essence*. Pater et filius simul una sapientia, quia una essentia; et singillatim sapientia de sapientia, sicut essentia de essentia.

And being the Divine nature, as it is absolutely immaterial and incorporeal, is also indivisible, Christ cannot have any part of it only communicated unto him, but the whole, by which he must be acknowledged coessential,* of the same substance with the Father; as the council of Nice determined, and the ancient fathers before them taught. Hence appeareth the truth of those words of our Saviour, which raised a second motion in the Jews to stone him; "I and the Father are one:" (John x. 30.) where the plurality of the verb, and the neutrality of the noun, with the distinction of their persons, speak a perfect identity of their essence. And though Christ say, "the Father is in me, and I in him;" yet withal he saith, "I came out from the Father:" by the former shewing the Divinity of his essence, by the latter the origination of him-

* *ὁμοούσιος*, which is coessential or consubstantial, is not to be taken of a part of the Divine essence, as if the Son were a part of the essence of the Father, and so of the same nature with him; which was the opinion of the Manichees. Οὐχ ὡς Οὐαλεντίνος πρόσβολῃ τὸ γέννημα τοῦ πατρὸς ἰδογμᾶτισιν οὐδ' ὡς Μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοούσιον τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ γέννημα εἰσηγήσατο as Arius in his epistle to Alexander; by the interpretation of St. Hilary. "Nec ut Valentinus, prolationem natum Patris commentatus est; nec, sicut Manichæus, partem unius substantiæ Patris natum exposuit." *De Trin.* l. vi. "Quod Hilarius ita Latine reddidit, tanquam ὁμοούσιον id significaret, quod partem substantiæ habet ex toto resectam," says Dionys. Petavius, without any reason; for St. Hilary clearly translates ὁμοούσιον barely unius substantiæ, and it was in the original μέρος ὁμοούσιον, which he expressed by *partem unius substantiæ*. Under this notion first the Arians pretended to refuse the name ὁμοούσιον, as Arius in the same epistle signifieth, lest thereby they should admit a real composition and division in the Deity. Εἰ τὸ ἐκ γαστρὸς, καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἔξῃδον, ὡς μέρος τοῦ ὁμοοῦσιον καὶ ὡς πρόσβολα ὑπὸ τινὸς νοῦται, συνδύτης ἵσται ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ διαμετρός, καὶ τριπλός. As St. Jerome testifies thus much not only of Arius and Eunomius, but also of Origen before them. "Habetur Dialogus apud Græcos Origenis, et Candidi Valentini-
anus Hærescos defensoris: Quos duos Andebatas digladiantes spectasse me fateor. Dicit Candidus, Filium de Patris esse substantiam, errans in eo quod πρόσβολῃ assert: E regione Origenes, juxta Arium et Eunomium, repugnat eum vel prolatione esse vel natum, ne Deus Pater di-

vidatur in partes." *Apol.* 2. in Ruffin: And therefore Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, refused not to subscribe to the Nicene Creed, being so interpreted as that objection might be taken away; τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ὁμολόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὴν εἶναι τοῦ, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὲν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχον τοῦ Πατρὸς. Upon this confession he subscribed to that clause, *begotten of the substance of the Father*, which was not in his own Creed. And again, Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἐξεταζόμενος ὁ λόγος συνίστησιν οὐ κατὰ τῶν σωματίων τρόπον, οὐδὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ζώοις παρὰ πλησίον, οὐτε γὰρ κατὰ διαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας, οὐτε κατὰ ἀποτομήν, &c. Upon this acknowledgment he was persuaded to subscribe to the other clause also (added to that Creed which he himself gave in to the council), *being of one substance with the Father*: which clause was inserted by the council, at the instance of Constantine the emperor. Now as the Manichees made use of the word ὁμοούσιος to express their errors concerning the nature of God and the person of Christ; so the ancient fathers, before the Nicene council, had used the same in a true catholic sense, to express the unity in essence of the Father and the Son; as appeareth by the confession of the same Eusebius, Ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγους τινὰς, καὶ ἱερωανῆς ἱεροσολέωντος, καὶ συγγραφίας Ἰγνώμων, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας τοῦ τοῦ ὁμοοῦσιον συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι. Wherefore the other Eusebius of Nicomedia, understanding the ancient catholic sense, confessed, that if they believed Christ to be the true begotten, and not created, Son of God, they must acknowledge him ὁμοούσιον, which the Arians endeavoured to make so odious; and therefore the council in

self. We must not look upon the Divine nature as steril,* but rather acknowledge and admire the fecundity and communicability of itself, upon which the creation† of the world dependeth: God making all things by his Word, to whom he first communicated that omnipotency which is the cause of all things. And this may suffice for the illustration of our third assertion, that the Father hath communicated the Divine essence to the Word, who is that *Jesus* who is the *Christ*.

The fourth assertion followeth, That the communication of the Divine essence by the Father, is the generation of the Son; and Christ, who was eternally God, not from himself, but from the Father, is the eternal Son of God. That God always had a Son, appeareth by Agur's question in the Proverbs of Solomon; "Who hath established all the ends of the earth; what is his name? and what is his Son's name? if thou canst tell." And it was the chief design of Mahomet to deny this truth, because he knew it was not otherwise possible to prefer himself before our Saviour. One prophet may be greater than another, and Mahomet might persuade his credulous disciples that he was greater than any of the sons of men; but while any one was believed to be the eternal Son of God, he knew it wholly impossible to prefer himself before him. Wherefore he frequently inculcates that blasphemy in his Alcoran,‡ that God hath no such Son, nor any equal with him: and his disciples have corrupted§ the

opposition to them determined it. Quid est aliud cur Homousion Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt verum Dei Filium? sicut Author ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis Epistola sua prodidit, dicens, si verum, inquit, Dei Filium, et increatum dicimus, Homousion cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Niceno, hoc verbum in Tractatu fidei posuerunt Patres, quod id videront adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefanda caput hæresis amputarent. *S. Ambros. l. iii. de Fide, c. 7. De voce Ὁμοούσιος, vide Dionys. Petav. de Trinit. l. iv. c. 6.*

* Ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν εἶπαι ἔμψυχον τῆς φυσικῆς γενιότητος. *Damasc. l. i. c. 8.*

† Εἰ δὲ μὴ καρπεργὸς ἔστιν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς οὐσία, ἀλλ' ἔρμος, κατ' αὐτοὺς, ὡς φῶς μὴ φωτίζει, καὶ πηλὴ ξηρὰ: πῶς δημιουργικὴ ἐνέργειαν αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγοντες οὐκ αἰσχύονται; *S. Athan. Orat. 2.*

‡ This is often repeated there, and particularly in the last chapter but one, called

Alechlas. Est ipse Deus unus, Deus æternus, qui nec genuit, nec genitus est, et cui nullus est æqualis. And the Saracenes set forth by Sylburgius, mention this as the first principle of Mahometanism, "Ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς ἔστι, παντὶ τῶν ὄλων, μήτε γεννηθεὶς, μήτε γενήσας. And Joannes Siculus and Georgius Cedrenus relate how Mahomet gave command, "Ἐν μόνον προσκυνεῖν Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τιμᾶν ὡς λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνον, οὐχὶ υἱὸν δέ." And we read of his ridiculous history, that Christ, after his ascension into heaven, was accused by God for calling himself his Son; and that he denied it, as being so named only by men without any authority from him. "Ὅτι ἀπελθόντα τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Θεός, λέγων, Ὡς Ἰησοῦς, σὺ εἶπες τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, Ὅτι υἱὸς εἰμι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεός: καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς, Ὅτι οὐκ εἶπον ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ αἰσχύνομαι εἶναι δούλος σου: ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσιν ὅτι εἶπον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

§ Alfirozabadius in his *Kamuz*: "Diotum Dei omnipotentis ad Jesum (cui propitius sit et pacem concedat Deus), Tu es

psalm of David, reading (instead of "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,") "Thou art my prophet, I have educated thee." The later Jews,* acknowledging the words, and the proper literal reading of them, apply them so unto David, as that they deny them to belong to Christ; and that upon no other ground, than that by such an exposition they may avoid the Christian's confession. But by the consent of the ancient Jews, by the interpretation of the blessed apostles, we know these words belong to Christ, and in the most proper sense to him alone. "For, unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" (Heb. i. 5.) as the apostle argues. And if he had spoken them unto any other man, as they were spoken unto him, the apostle's argument had been none at all.

Now that the communication of the Divine essence by the Father (which we have already proved) was the true and proper generation by which he hath begotten the Son, will thus appear: because the most proper generation which we know, is nothing else but a vital production of another in the same nature, with a full representation of him from whom he is produced. Thus man begetteth a son, that is, produceth another man of the same human nature with himself; and

Nabiya Propheta meus, ego walladtoca, fovi te; at Jixerunt Christiani, Tu es Bonaya, Filius meus, ego walladtoca, te genui. Longe est supra hæc Deus." And to the same purpose Ebnol Athir: "In Evangelio dixit Isæ, *ego walladtoca, i. e. educaui te; at Christiani, dempta litera Lam altera, ipsum ei filium statuerunt. Qui longe elatus est super ea quæ dicunt.*" Whereas then the apostles attributed those words of the psalm to Christ, the Mahometans, who could not deny but they were spoken of the Messiah, were forced to corrupt the text; and for that they pretend the eminency and excellency of the Godhead, as if it were beneath the majesty of God to beget a son, or be a Father: and indeed whosoever would bring in another prophet greater than Christ, as he was than Moses, must do so.

* I say, the later Jews so attribute those words to David, as if they belonged not to the Messiah; but the ancient Jews understood them of the Christ: as appeareth not only out of those places in the evangelists, where the Christ and the Son of God are synonymous; but also by the testimony of the later Jews them-

selves, who have confessed no less. So Rabbi David Kimohi in the end of his commentaries on the second Psalm, *וְעַתָּה מַפְרְשִׁים זֶה הַמִּזְמוֹר עַל נֹחַ וּמֹנֶה הַמָּשִׁיחַ הִיא מֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ וְכֵן פִּירֵשׁ רַבּוֹתֵינוּ ז"ל:* Some interpret this psalm of Gog and Magog, and the anointed is Messiah the king; and so our doctors of happy memory have expounded it. And Rabbi Solomon Jarchi not only confesseth that the ancient rabbins did interpret it of the Messiah, but shews the reason why the later Jews understood it rather of David, that thereby they might the better answer the argument of the Christians deduced from thence, *רַבּוֹתֵינוּ דְּרָשׁוּ אֶת הָעֵנָן עַל מֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ לְפִי מַשְׁמַעוֹ וּלְתִשְׁבּוּרַת הַמִּנִּיּוֹת נָכוֹ וּלְפִיחָדּוֹ עַל דּוֹר עֲצָמוֹ:* Our doctors have expounded it of the Messiah: but as to the literal sense, and for the answering heretics (that is, in their language, Christians), it is rather to be interpreted of David, in his own person.

this production, as a perfect generation, becomes the foundation of the relation of paternity in him that produceth, and of filiation in him that is produced. Thus after the prolific benediction, "Be fruitful and multiply; Adam begat in his own likeness, after his image:" (Gen. i. 28. v. 3.) and by the continuation of the same blessing, the succession of human generations hath been continued. This then is the known* confession of all men, that a son is nothing but another produced by his father in the same nature with him. But God the Father hath communicated to the Word the same Divine essence by which he is God; and consequently he is of the same nature with him, and thereby the perfect image and similitude of him, and therefore his proper Son. In human generations we may conceive two kinds of similitude; one in respect of the internal nature, the other in reference to the external form or figure. The former similitude is essential and necessary; it being impossible a man should beget a son, and that son not be by nature a man: the latter accidental; not only sometimes the child representing this, sometimes the other parent, but also oftentimes neither. The similitude then,† in which the propriety of generation is preserved, is that which consisteth in the identity of nature: and this communication of the Divine essence by the Father to the Word is evidently a sufficient foundation of such a similitude; from whence Christ is called "the image of God, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person." (2 Cor. iv. 4. Heb. i. 3.)

Nor is this communication of the Divine essence only the proper generation of the Son, but we must acknowledge it far more proper than any natural generation of the creature, not only because it is a more perfect manner, but also because the identity of nature is most perfect. As in the Divine essence we acknowledge all the perfections of the creatures, subtracting all the imperfections which adhere unto them here in things below: so in the communication we must look upon the reality without any kind of defect,

* Κοινὴν ὑπάρχει πᾶσι καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτον ὁμολόγημα, ὡς ἅπας υἱὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ γεννητοῦ οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως. Phot. Epist.

1. This is in the language of Aristotle, τὸ παῖσαι ἕτερον ὅλον αὐτό· ζῶν μὲν ζῶν, φυτόν δὲ φυτόν. And St. Basil, lib. ii. contra Eunomium. πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίν, ὁ ἑτέρος τοῦ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν

τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχόν.

† Etiam si filius hominis, homo, in quibusdam similis, in quibusdam sit dissimilis patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantiæ est, negari verus filius non potest, et quia verus est filius, negari ejusdem substantiæ non potest. S. Aug. contra Maximin. c. 13.

blemish, or impurity. In human generation the son is begotten in the same nature with the father, which is performed by derivation, or decision of part of the substance of the parent: but this decision includeth imperfection, because it supposeth a substance divisible, and consequently corporeal; whereas the essence of God is incorporeal, spiritual and indivisible, and therefore his nature is really communicated, not by derivation or decision, but by a total and plenary communication. In natural conceptions the father necessarily precedeth the son, and begetteth one younger than himself; for being generation is for the perpetuity of the species, where the individuals successively fail, it is sufficient if the parent can produce another to live after him, and continue the existence of his nature, when his person is dissolved. But this presupposeth the imperfection of mortality wholly to be removed, when we speak of him who inhabiteth eternity: the essence which God always had without beginning, without beginning he did communicate; being always Father, as always God. Animals when they come to the perfection of nature, then become prolific;* in God eternal perfection sheweth his eternal fecundity. And that which is most remarkable, in human generations the son is of the same nature with the father, and yet is not the same man; because though he hath an essence of the same kind, yet he hath not the same essence; the power of generation depending on the first prolific benediction, "increase and multiply," it must be made by way of multiplication, and thus every son becomes another man. But the Divine essence, being by reason of its simplicity not subject to division, and in respect of its infinity incapable of multiplication, is so communicated as not to be multiplied; insomuch that he which proceedeth by that communication, hath not only the same nature, but is also the same God. The Father God, and the Word God; Abraham man, and Isaac man: but Abraham one man, Isaac another man; not so the Father one God, and the Word another, but the Father and the Word both the same God. Being then the propriety of generation is founded in the essential similitude of the Son unto the Father, by reason of the same which he receiveth from him;

* Πάντα δι' ἑα ἑα τίλμα γὰρ τὸ δι' αὐτὸ τίλμα τῆς φύσεως. S. Athan. Orat. διὰ τίλμα, αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ. Euseb. de 2. This was it which so much troubled the
Præp. Evang. ex Plotino. Ἀνθρώπων μὲν Arians, when they heard the catholics
γὰρ οὕτω τὸ ἐν χρίστῳ γὰρ, διὰ τὸ ἀπείρη constantly asserting, αὐτὸς θεός, αὐτὸς υἱός, ἕνα
τῆς φύσεως θεοῦ δι' αὐτὸν τὸ γέννημα διὰ τὸ πατὴρ, ἕνα υἱός.

being the full perfect nature of God is communicated unto the Word, and that more intimately, and with a greater unity or identity than can be found in human generations : it followeth that this communication of the Divine nature is the proper generation by which Christ is, and is called the true and proper Son of God. This was the foundation of St. Peter's confession, " thou art the Son of the living God ;" this the ground of our Saviour's distinction,* " I go unto my Father, and to your Father." Hence did St. John raise a verity, more than only a negation of falsity, when he said, we " are in the true Son : " for we which are in him are true, not false sons, we are as the " true Son." Hence did St. Paul draw an argument of the infinite love of God towards man, in that he spared not his own proper Son. Thus have we sufficiently shewed, that the eternal communication of the Divine essence by the Father to the Word was a proper generation by which Christ Jesus always was the true and proper Son of God : which was our fourth assertion.

The fifth and last assertion followeth, that the Divine essence was so peculiarly communicated to the Word, that there was never any other naturally begotten by the Father; and in that respect Christ is the *only-begotten* Son of God. For the clearing of which truth, it will first be necessary to inquire into the true notion of the *only-begotten*; and then shew how it belongs particularly to Christ, by reason of the Divine nature communicated by way of generation to him alone. First, therefore, We must avoid the vain interpretation of the ancient heretics,† who would have the restraining

* Multum distat inter dominationem et conditionem, inter generationem et adoptionem, inter substantiam et gratiam. Ideoque hic non permixte nec passim dicitur. *Ascendo ad Patrem nostrum aut Deum nostrum ; sed ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum, et ad Deum vestrum.* Aliter enim illi Deus Pater est, aliter nobis. Illum siquidem natura coæquat, misericordia humiliat : nos vero natura prosternit, misericordia erigit. *Capreolus Carthag. Epist.*

† This was the fallacy which Eusebious endeavoured to put upon the church, as appears by those words of his delivered and answered by St. Basil ; *Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ, φησὶ, μονογενὲς, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ μόνου τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει γεννηθῇ καὶ κτισθῇ τελειότατος γένωνται ὑπουργός,* as if *μονογενὲς* were only *παρὰ μόνου*, and *unigenitus* were nothing else but *genitus ab uno*. This St.

Basil refuteth copiously : first, from the language of the Scriptures and the usage of mankind ; *Διὰ τὴν παλαιάν, ἢ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενούς ἐκατοῦρηται, παρὰ τε τῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνήθειαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐσεβῶ τῶν γραφῶν παράδοσιν λαμβάνων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν.* *Μονογενὲς γὰρ οὐχ ὁ παρὰ μόνου γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ μόνος γεννηθείς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χρίσει προσαγορεύεται.* Secondly, by a rector peculiar to that heresy, which held the Son of God might be called *κτισθείς* as well as *γεννηθείς* created, as well as begotten, and consequently might be as properly named *μονόκτιστος* as *μονογενὲς*. *Εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὸ μόνος γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ παρὰ μόνου μονογενὲς εἰπεται, ταυτὶ δὲ ἴσως κατὰ σὲ τὸ ἐκτίσθαι τῇ γεννηθῆναι, τί οὐχὶ καὶ μονόκτιστον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζεις ;* thirdly, by a particular instance, shewing the absurdity of such an interpretation, for that thereby no man could properly be called

term *only* to belong, not to the Son, but to the Father; as if the *only-begotten* were no more than *begotten* of the Father *only*. Which is both contrary to the language of the Scriptures, and the common custom of men, who use it not for him who is begotten of one, but for him who alone is begotten of any.

Secondly, We must by no means admit the exposition of the later heretics,* who take the *only-begotten* to be nothing else but the most beloved of all the sons; because Isaac was called the *only son* of Abraham, when we know that he had Ishmael beside; and Solomon said to be the “*only-begotten* before his mother,” when David had other children even by the mother of Solomon. For the *only-begotten* and the *most-beloved* are not the same; the one having the nature of a cause in respect of the other, and the same cannot be cause and effect to itself. For though it be true, that the only son is the beloved son; yet with this order, that he is therefore beloved, because the only, not therefore the only because beloved. Although therefore Christ be the *only-begotten* and the beloved Son of God, yet we must not look upon these two attributes as synonymous, or equally significant of the same thing, but as one depending on the other, unigeniture being the foundation of his singular love. Beside, Isaac was called the only son of Abraham for some other reason than because he was singularly beloved of Abraham, for he was the only son of the free-woman, the only son of the promise made to Abraham, which was first this, “Sarah shall have a

μονογενής, because not begotten of one, but two parts. *Μονογενής* δὲ, ὡς φαίνεται, ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲς κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, διὰ τὸ ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑπαρχεῖν τὴν γέννησιν οὐδὲ ἡ Σάρρα μόνῃ μονογενεὺς ἐν παιδός, διότι οὐχὶ μόνῃ αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐκτελέσεται.

* The Socinians make very much of this notion, and apply it so unto Christ, as that thereby they might avoid all necessity of an eternal generation. So the Racovian Catechism: “Causa cur Christo ista attributa (sc. *proprium et unigenitum Dei Filium esse*) competant, hæc est; quod inter omnes Dei filios et præcipuus sit, et Deo charissimus; quemadmodum Isaac, quia Abrahamo charissimus et hæres exstitit, unigenitus vocatus est, Heb. xi. 17. licet fratrem Ismaelem habuerit; et Solomon unigenitus coram matre sua, licet plures ex eadem matre fratres fuerint,” 1 Paral. 3. 1, 2, 3, &c. And that this might be applied to the interpretation of the Creed, Schköttingius hath inserted it

as a material observation; “Nam hic unicus seu unigena filius nominatur, qui cæteris longe charior est Patri, longèque præstantior;” and confirms the interpretation with those two testimonies concerning Isaac and Solomon. But certainly this observation of theirs is vain, or what else they say is false. For if Christ be called the Son of God, because conceived by the Holy Ghost, and none else was ever so conceived, then is he the *only-begotten* by virtue of his generation. And if so, then is he not the *only-begotten*, as Isaac and Solomon were, that is, by the affection and prelation of their parents. Or if Christ were the *only-begotten* as Isaac and Solomon were, then was he not conceived after a singular manner, for the brethren of Solomon no way differed from him in their generation. It is plain therefore that this interpretation was invented, that when all the rest should fail, they might stick to this.

son," and then, "in Isaac shall thy seed be called." (Gen. xviii. 14. xxi. 12.) So that Isaac may well be called the only son of Abraham in reference to the promise, as the apostle speaks expressly; "By faith Abraham when he was tried, offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises offered up his only-begotten son." (Heb. xi. 17.) Avoiding therefore these two expositions, as far short of the true notion of the *only-begotten*; we must look upon it in the most proper, full and significant sense, as signifying a son so begotten as none other is, was, or can be: so as the term restrictive *only* shall have relation not only to the Father generating,* but also to the Son begotten, and to the manner of the generation. It is true, the Father spake from heaven, saying, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," and thereby we are to understand, that whosoever of us are beloved by the Father, are so beloved in and through the Son. In the same manner Christ is the *only-begotten* Son of God; and as many of us as God hath bestowed his love upon, that we should be called the sons of God, are all brought into that near relation by our fellowship with him, who is by a far more near relation the natural and eternal Son.

Having thus declared the interpretation of the word, that, properly, as primogeniture consisteth in prelation, so unigeniture in exclusion; and that none can be strictly called the *only-begotten*, but he who alone was so begotten: we shall proceed to make good our assertion, shewing that the Divine essence was peculiarly communicated to the Word, by which he was begotten the Son of God, and never any was so begotten beside that son.

And here we meet with two difficulties: one shewing that there were other sons of God said to be begotten of him, to whom either the Divine essence was communicated; and then the communication of that to the Word made him not

* Eunomius would have it only *παρὰ μέν*, in relation to the Father only. St. Basil shews that no way proper, and shews that *μονογενής* is not he which *παρὰ μέν* but *μέν* *γενόμενος*. St. Cyril adds these two *παρὰ μέν* and *μέν* together, in relation to the Father and the Son: *Μονογενής κατὰ φύσιν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνυμνασθεὶς ὁ υἱός, ὅτι μέν* *ἐκ μέν* *γενόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς*, Epist. 1. ad Regin. as Rufinus doth in *unicus*: "Ideo subjungit unicum hunc esse Filium Dei, unus

enim de uno nascitur." *Expos. Symb. St. Gregory Nazianzen* adds to these two a third, in respect of the manner: *Μονογενής δέ, οὐχ ὅτι μέν* *ἐκ μέν* *καὶ μέν*, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ *μονογενής*, οὐχ ὡς τὰ σέματα. So he something obscurely and corruptly, but plainly enough in Damascene, who aims often to deliver himself in the words of Nazianzen: *Ἀγεται μονογενής, ὅτι μέν* *ἐκ μέν* *τοῦ πατρὸς μέν* *ἐγενήθη*, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμαυνοῦται ἰδίᾳ γένεσις τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γένεσι, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕτερον ἄλλος υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

the *only-begotten*; or it was not communicated, and then there is no such communication necessary to found such filiation: the other, alleging that the same Divine essence may be communicated to another beside the Word, and not only that it may, but that it is so, to the person of the Holy Ghost; whence either the Holy Ghost must be the Son of God, and then the Word is not the *only-begotten*; or if he be not the Son, then is not the communication of the Divine essence a sufficient foundation of the relation of sonship. These two objections being answered, nothing will remain farther to demonstrate this last assertion.

For the first, we acknowledge that others are frequently called the sons of God, and that we call the same God our Father which Christ called his; "both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call us brethren:" (Heb. ii. 11.) we confess that those whom St. Paul "hath begotten through the gospel,"* may well be termed the "begotten of God, whose seed remaineth in them:" but withal, we affirm that this our regeneration is of a nature wholly different from the generation of the Son. We are first generated,† and have our natural being; after that regenerated, and so receive a spiritual renovation, and by virtue thereof an inheritance incorruptible: whereas the generation of Christ admits no regeneration, he becoming at once thereby God and Son and heir of all. The state of sonship which we come into is but of adoption, shewing the generation by which we are begotten to be but metaphorical; whereas Christ is so truly begotten, so properly the natural Son of God, that his generation‡ clearly excludeth

* 1 Cor. iv. 15. Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμεῖς ὑψίστην. 1 John iii. 9. Πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀμαρτίας οὐ ποιεῖ, ἔτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει. And more expressly, 1 John v. i. Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν Ἰησοῦ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγέννηται: καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν γεγέννητα, ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Quisquis credit Jesum esse Christum illum, ex Deo genitus est; et quisquis diligit eum qui genuit, diligit etiam eum qui ex eo genitus est.

† Nos genuit Deus, ut filii ejus simus, quos fecerat ut homines essemus. Unicum autem genuit, non solum ut Filius esset, quod Pater non est, sed etiam ut Deus esset, quod et Pater est. S. Aug. de Conf.

Evangel. l. ii. c. 3. In the book of Celsus, there was a Jew introduced speaking thus to Christ: Εἰ τούτω λόγῳ ἐστὶ πᾶς ἀνθρώπος κατὰ Σίλαν πρῶτον γεγενῆς υἱὸς Ἰσθι Θεοῦ, τί ἐν σοὶ ἄλλου διαφέρει; who is thus answered by Origen: Πρὸς δὲ ἰερωμεν, ἐστὶ πᾶς μὲν, ὅς ἐ Παῦλος δόγμασι, μνηστέρι ὑπὸ φόβου παιδαγωγούμενος, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν αἰρούμενος, υἱὸς ἔστι Θεοῦ· ὅστις δὲ πολλὰ καὶ μακρὰ διαφέρει πατρὸς, τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν χρηματίζοντος υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅστις ὡς πατρὶς πηγὴ τις καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν τοιούτων τυγχάνει. Orig. adv. Celsum, l. i.

‡ First, it is most certain that the Word of God, as the Word, is not the adopted, but the natural Son of God. Non est Dei Filius Deus falsus, nec Deus adop-

is truly the *only-begotten Son* of God, notwithstanding the same God hath begotten us by his Word; and the reason why he is so, is, because the Divine essence was communicated unto him in his natural and eternal generation, whereas only the grace of God is conveyed unto us in our adoption. Indeed if we were begotten of the essence of God as Christ was, or he were only by the grace of God adopted,* as we are, then could he by no propriety of speech be called the *only Son*, by reason of so many brethren: but being we cannot aspire unto the first, nor he descend unto the latter, it remaineth we acknowledge him, notwithstanding the first difficulty, by virtue of his natural and peculiar generation, to be the *only-begotten Son*.

But though neither men nor angels be begotten of the substance of God, or by virtue of any such natural generation be called sons; yet one person we know, to whom the Divine essence is as truly and really communicated by the Father as to the Son, which is the third person in the blessed Trinity, the Holy Ghost. Why then should the Word by that communication of the Divine essence become the Son, and not the Holy Ghost by the same? or if by receiving the same nature, he also be the Son of God, how is the Word the only Son? To this I answer, that the Holy Ghost receiveth the same essence from the Father which the Word receiveth, and thereby becometh the same God with the Father and the Word: but though the essence be the same which is communicated, yet there is a difference in the communication; the Word being God by generation, the Holy Ghost by procession: and though every thing which is begotten proceedeth,† yet every thing which proceedeth is not

ob aliud intelligitur, nisi ad discernendum Unigenitum." *De consens. Evang.* l. ii. c. 3. And St. Ambrose takes notice, that the name of *true* destroyeth that of *adopted*. "Adoptivum filium non dicimus filium esse natura, sed eum dicimus natura esse filium, qui verus est filius." *De Incar. Sacr.* c. 8.

* Si unicuique, quomodo adoptivus, dum multi sunt adoptivi filii? Unicus itaque de multis non potest dici. *Concil. Francof.* Quod si etiam Unigenitus Filius factus dicitur ex gratia, non verè genitus ex natura, proculdubio nomen et veritatem Unigeniti perdidit, postquam fratres habere jam cepit: privatur enim hujus veritate nominis, si in unigenito non est de Patre veritas naturalis. *Fulgentius ad*

Thrasim. l. iii. c. 3. Si divina illa Filii sempiternæque nativitas non de natura Dei Patris, sed ex gratia creditur substituisse, non debet Unigenitus vocari, sed tantummodo genitus. Quoniam sicut ei nomen geniti largitas adoptionis paternæ contribuit, sic eum ab Unigeniti nomine nobis quoque tributa communio paternæ adoptionis excludit. Unigenitus enim non vocatur, quamvis genitus possit vocari, cum genitus. *Ib.* c. iv.

† Non omne id quod procedit, nascitur, sicut omne id quod nascitur procedat. *S. Aug. contra Max.* l. iii. c. 14. who gives the same solution to the same argument. "Queris a me, si de substantia Patris est Filius, de substantia Patris est

begotten. Wherefore in the language of the sacred Scriptures and the church,* the Holy Ghost is never said to be begotten, but to proceed from the Father; nor is he ever called the Son, but the Gift of God. Eve was produced out of Adam, and in the same nature with him, and yet was not born of him, nor was she truly the daughter of Adam; whereas Seth proceeding from the same person in the similitude of the same nature, was truly and properly the son of Adam. And this difference was not in the nature produced, but in the manner of production; Eve descending not from Adam as Seth did, by way of generation, that is, by natural fecundity. The Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father in the same nature with him, the Word proceedeth from the same person in the same similitude of nature also; but the Word proceeding is the Son, the Holy Ghost is not, because the first procession is by way of generation; the other is not. As therefore the regeneration and adoption of man, so the procession of the Holy Ghost doth no way prejudice the eternal generation, as pertaining solely to the Son of God.

Seeing then our Saviour Jesus Christ had a real being and existence before he was conceived by the Virgin Mary; seeing the being which he had antecedently to that conception was not any created, but the one and indivisible Divine essence; seeing he had not that Divinity of himself originally, as the Father, but by communication from him; seeing the communication of the same essence unto him was a proper generation; we cannot but believe that the same Jesus Christ is the begotten Son of God: and seeing the same essence was never so by way of generation communicated unto any,† we must also acknowledge him the *only-begotten*, distinguished from the Holy Ghost, as Son; from the adopted children, as the natural Son.

The necessity of the belief of this part of the article, that

etiam Spiritus Sanctus, cur unus Filius sit, et alius non sit Filius? Ego respondeo, sive capias, sive non capias; de Patre est Filius, de Patre est Spiritus S. sed ille genitus est, iste procedens." Πολλὰ τούτου πιθανώτατον τὸ φάναι, ἔξ ἐκείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φῦναι τὸν Λόγον καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· τὸν μὲν, ὡς Λόγον, ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ γενόμενον τὸ δὲ, ὡς Πνεῦμα, ἐκπορεύμενον. Συμπέφυκε γὰρ τῷ Λόγῳ τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὐ συγγενόμενον ἀλλὰ ἑνὸς, καὶ παρομοιωτὸν, καὶ ἐκπορεύμενον. Theodoret. Serm. 2, p. 504.

* Nunquam fuit non Pater, a quo Fi-

lius natus, a quo Spiritus Sanctus non natus, quia non est Filius. Gemad. de Eccles. Dog. Deus Pater innascibilis non ex aliquo, Deus Filius unigenitus ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre, Spiritus S. innascibilis ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre. Isaac. lib. Fidei. Quod neque natum neque factum est, Spiritus S. est, qui a Patre et Filio procedit. S. Ambr. in Symb.

† Ὡς μὲν ὁν οὐδὲ, φασὶν αἱ κλητικαὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς δὲ μονογενὴς, οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ συλλαβῶν, οὐδὲν καταμερίζομενον πρὸς ἑνὸς. S. Basil. Hom. de Fide.

Jesus Christ is the proper and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father, and by that singular way of generation the *only Son*, appeareth first in the confirmation of our faith concerning the redemption of mankind. For this doth shew such an excellency and dignity in the person of the Mediator as will assure us of an infinite efficacy in his actions, and value in his sufferings. We know "it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins:" (Heb. x. 4.) and we may very well doubt, how the blood of him, who hath no other nature than that of man, can take away the sins of other men; there appearing no such difference as will shew a certainty in the one, and an impossibility in the other. But since we may be "bought with a price," (1 Cor. vi. 20. vii. 23.) well may we believe the blood of Christ sufficiently "precious," (1 Pet. i. 19.) when we are assured that it is the "blood of God:" (Acts xx. 28.) nor can we question the efficacy of it in "purging our conscience from dead works," (Heb. ix. 14.) if we believe "Christ offered up himself through the eternal Spirit." If we be truly sensible of our sins, we must acknowledge that in every one we have offended God; and the gravity of every offence must needs increase proportionably to the dignity of the party offended in respect of the offender: because the more worthy any person is, the more reverence is due unto him, and every injury tendeth to his dishonour; but between God and man there is an infinite disproportion; and therefore every offence committed against him, must be esteemed as in the highest degree of injury. Again, as the gravity of the offence beareth proportion to the person offended; so the value of reparation ariseth from the dignity of the person satisfying; because the satisfaction consisteth in a reparation of that honour which by the injury was eclipsed; and all honour doth increase proportionably as the person yielding it is honourable. If then by every sin we have offended God, who is of infinite eminency, according unto which the injury is aggravated; how shall we ever be secure of our reconciliation unto God, except the person who hath undertaken to make the reparation be of the same infinite dignity; so as the honour rendered by his obedience may prove proportionable to the offence and that dishonour which arose from our disobedience? This scruple is no otherwise to be satisfied than by a belief in such a Mediator as is

the *only-begotten Son* of God, of the same substance with the Father, and consequently of the same power and dignity with the God whom by our sins we have offended.

Secondly, The belief of the eternal generation of the Son, by which he is the same God with the Father, is necessary for the confirming and encouraging a Christian in ascribing that honour and glory unto Christ which is due unto him. For we are commanded to give that worship unto the Son which is truly and properly Divine; the same which we give unto God the Father, who "hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father." (John v. 22, 23.) As it was represented to St. John in a vision; when he heard "every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, saying, Blessing, honour, glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever." (Rev. v. 13.) Again, we are commanded "to fear the Lord our God, and to serve him;"* (Deut. vi. 3. 4.) and that with such an emphasis, as by him we are to understand him alone; because "the Lord our God is one Lord." From whence if any one arose among the Jews, teaching under the title of a prophet to worship any other beside him for God, the judgment of the rabbins was,† that notwithstanding all the miracles which he could work, though they were as great as Moses wrought, he ought immediately to be strangled, because the evidence of this truth, that one God only must be worshipped, is above all evidence of sense. Nor must we look upon this precept as valid only under the law, as if then there were only one God to be worshipped, but since the gospel we had another; for our Saviour hath commended it to our observation, by making use of it against the devil in his temptation, saying, "Get thee hence Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Mat. iv. 10.) If then we be obliged to worship the God of Israel only; if we be also commanded to give the same worship to the Son, which we give to him; it

* The emphasis appears in this, that it is not barely *וְתַעֲבֹדוּ* *et servies ei*, but *וְאֵתָּו תַעֲבֹד* *et ipsi servies*, with such a peculiar restriction, as is expressed by the Chaldee paraph. *וְקִרְמָדִי תַפְלָה* *et in conspectu ejus servies*; by the LXX. *καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις* and that restriction approved by our Saviour, Matt. iv. 10.

† Moses Maim. Præfat. in Seder Zeraim.

is necessary that we should believe that the Son is the God of Israel. When the Scripture "bringeth in the first begotten into the world, it saith, Let all the angels of God worship him;" (Heb. i. 6.) but then the same Scripture calleth that first begotten Jehovah,* and "the Lord of the whole earth." For a man to worship that for God which is not God, knowing that it is not God, is affected and gross idolatry; to worship that as God which is not God, thinking that it is God, is not the same degree, but the same sin; to worship him as God, who is God, thinking that he is not God, cannot be thought an act in the formality, void of idolatry. Lest therefore, while we are obliged to give unto him Divine worship, we should fall into that sin which of all others we ought most to abhor, it is no less necessary, that we should believe that Son to be that eternal God; whom we are bound to worship, and whom only we should serve.

Thirdly, Our belief in Christ as the eternal Son of God, is necessary to raise us unto a thankful acknowledgment of the infinite love of God appearing in the sending of his only-begotten Son into the world to die for sinners. This love of God is frequently extolled and admired by the apostles: "God so loved the world (saith St. John), that he gave his only-begotten Son." (John iii. 16.) "God commended his love towards us (saith St. Paul), in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us: in that he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all." (Rom. v. 8. viii. 32.) "In this (saith St. John again), was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." (John iv. 9, 10.) If we look upon all this as nothing else, but that God should cause a man to be born after another manner than other men; and when he was so born after a peculiar manner, yet a mortal man, should deliver him to die for the sins of the world; I see no such great expression of his love in this way of redemption; more than would have appeared if he had redeemed us any other way. It is true indeed that the reparation of lapsed man, is no act of absolute necessity in respect of God, but

* Psal. xcvi. 5. Ἐὰν δὲ μονογενὴς ἦεν, ὡς πατὴρ αὐτὸς ἦεν, οὐδεμίαν ἀρὰ ἔχει πρὸς τὰ κτίσταν κτίοντων. Theod. Harct. Fab. l. v. c. 2.

that he hath as freely designed our redemption as our creation; considering the misery from which we are redeemed, and the happiness to which we are invited, we cannot but acknowledge the singular love of God even in the act of redemption itself; but yet the apostles have raised that consideration higher, and placed the choicest mark of the love of God, in the choosing such means, and performing in that manner our reparation: by sending his *only-begotten* into the world; by not sparing his own Son, by giving and delivering him up to be scourged and crucified for us: and the estimation of this act of God's love must necessarily increase proportionably to the dignity of the Son so sent into the world; because the more worthy the person of Christ before he suffered, the greater his condescension unto such a suffering condition; and the nearer his relation to the Father, the greater his love to us for whose sakes he sent him to suffer. Wherefore to derogate any way from the person and nature of our Saviour before he suffered, is so far to undervalue the love of God, and consequently, to come short of that acknowledgment and thanksgiving which is due unto him for it. If then the sending of Christ into the world, were the highest act of the love of God which could be expressed; if we be obliged unto a return of thankfulness some way correspondent to such infinite love; if such a return can never be made without a true sense of that infinity, and a sense of that infinity of love cannot consist without an apprehension of an infinite dignity of nature in the person sent; then it is absolutely necessary to believe that Christ is so the *only-begotten Son* of the Father, as to be of the same substance with him, of glory equal, of majesty coeternal.

By this discourse in way of explication, every Christian may understand what it is he says, and express his mind how he would be understood when he maketh this brief confession, *I believe in Christ the only Son of God*. For by these words he must be thought to intend no less than this: I do profess to be fully assured of this assertion, as of a most certain, infallible, and necessary truth, that Jesus Christ the Saviour and Messias, is the true, proper, and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father; which being incapable of division or multiplication, is so really and totally communicated to him, that he is of the same essence with him, *God of God, light of light, very God of very God*.

And as I assert him to be the Son, so do I also exclude all other persons from that kind of sonship, acknowledging none but him to be begotten of God by that proper and natural generation, and thereby excluding all which are not begotten, as it is a generation, all which are said to be begotten, and are called sons, but are so only by adoption, as it is natural. And thus I believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his *only Son*.

Our Lord.

AFTER our Saviour's relation founded upon his eternal generation, followeth his dominion in all ancient Creeds,* as the necessary consequent of his filiation. For as we believe him to be the Son of God, so must we acknowledge him to be *our Lord*, because the only Son must of necessity be heir and Lord of all in his Father's house, and all others which bear the name of sons, whether they be men or angels, if compared to him, must not be looked upon as sons of God, but as servants of Christ.

Three things are necessary, and more cannot be, for a plenary explication of this part of the article; first, the proper notation of the word *Lord* in the Scripture phrase, or language of the Holy Ghost; secondly, the full signification of the same in the adequate latitude of sense, as it belongs to Christ; thirdly, the application of it to the person making confession of his faith, and all others whom he involves in the same condition with himself, as saying not *my*, nor *their*, but *our Lord*.

First then we must observe, that not only Christ is *the Lord*, but that this title doth so properly belong unto him, that *the Lord* alone absolutely taken is frequently used by the evangelists and apostles determinately for *Christ*,† insomuch that the angels observe that dialect "Come see the place where the Lord lay." (Matt. xxviii. 6.) Now for the true notation of the word,‡ it will not be so necessary to inquire into the use or

* For though in the first rules of faith mentioned by Irenæus and Tertullian we find not *Dominum nostrum*, yet in all the Creeds afterwards we find those words; probably inserted because denied by the Valentiniæans, of whom Irenæus. *Δὲ τοῦτο τὸν Ζωτῆρα λέγουσιν, εἰδὲ γὰρ Κύριον ἐρημά-ζου αὐτὸν θάνατον*, l. i. c. 1.

† Mar. xvi. 19, 20. Luke xii. 42. xxiv. 34. John iv. 1. vi. 23. xi. 2. xx. 2. 18. 20. 25. xxi. 7. Acts ix. 1. 6. 10, 11. 15. 17. 27. 31. 42. xi. 16. 24. xiii. 47. &c. Κύριος.

‡ For whosoever shall consider the signification of Κύριος in the Scriptures, I think he will scarce find any footsteps of the

origination of the Greek, much less into the etymology of the correspondent Latin, as to search into the notion of the Jews, and the language of the Scriptures, according unto which the evangelists and apostles spake and wrote. And first, it cannot be denied, but that the word which we translate *the Lord* was used by the interpreters of the Old Testament, sometimes for men, with no relation unto any other than human dominion.* And as it was by the translators of the Old, so is it also by the penmen of the New.† But it is

same in the ancient Greeks. In our sacred writ it is the frequent name of God, whereas I imagine it is not to be found so used by any of the old Greek authors. Julius Pollux, whose business is to observe what words and phrases may be properly made use of in that language, tells us the gods may be called Θεοὶ or Δαίμονες, but mentions not Κύριος, as neither proper, nor any name of God with them at all. Nor did they anciently use it in their economics; where their constant terms were not Κύριος, but δεσπότης and δούλος; and they had then another kind of notion of it, as appears by the complaint of the servant in Aristophanes; Τὸ σώματος γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν τὸν κύριον κρατεῖν ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκτιμῶν. In which words, if they were interpreted by the Scripture usage, Κύριος would signify the master, and ἐκτιμῶν the person bought, that is, the servant; whereas the place requires an interpretation wholly contrary; for ἐκτιμῶν is not here ὑποτάσσων, but ἀγοράσας, or ὑποτάσσων, as the scholiast, Suidas, and Moschopolus have observed, that is, not the servant, but the master who bought him. And though those grammarians bring no other place to prove this active signification beside this of Aristophanes, by which means it might be still questionable whether they had rightly interpreted him without any authority, yet Phrynichus will sufficiently secure us of this sense. Ἐτιμῶν ἐκτιμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀγορὴ. ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲν ἔχοντι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου. μένει τὸ ἐκτιμῶν δόκιμον. Ἐκτιμῶν then here is he which buyeth, that is, the master; and consequently κύριος not the master, but the servant bought, whom he supposeth originally to have power over his own body. Indeed it was not only distinguished, but in a manner opposed to δεσπότης; as appears by that observation of Ammonius, thus delivered by Eustathius in Odys. 5. Κύριος γυναικὸς καὶ υἱὸν ἀνὴρ καὶ πατὴρ, δεσπότης δὲ ἀργυροφάντων.

* As ὁ κύριος is generally translated κύριος, when it signifieth lord or master in

respect of a servant or inferior. So Sarah called her husband, Gen. xviii. 12. 1 Pet. iii. 6. so Eleazer his master Abraham, Gen. xxiv. frequently. Thus Rachel saluted her father Laban, Gen. xxxi. 35. and Jacob his brother Esau, Gen. xxxiii. 8. Potiphar is the κύριος of Joseph whom he bought, Gen. xxxix. 2. &c. and Joseph in power is so saluted by his brethren, Gen. xlii. 10. and acknowledged by his servant, Gen. xlii. 5. The general name in the law of Moses for servant and master is παῖς and κύριος, Exod. xxi. 2. 4. It is indeed so plain that the ancient Jews used this word to signify no more than human power, that we find אָדָם the name of man so translated, as 1 Sam. xvii. 32. אָדָם אֵל יֵפֶל לָב אָדָם עָלָיו מִדָּה דְּהַ שְׁמִיטָה-סֵטְרָא קַרְדִּיאָה דְּהַ שְׁמִיטָה דְּהַ שְׁמִיטָה.

† For κύριος is used with relation and in opposition to παιδίσκη, Acts xvi. 16. in the sense which the latter, not the ancient Greeks used it: Παιδίσκη, τοῦτο ἐστὶν θεράπων, οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς νείας, as Phrynichus observes. As it is opposed to οὐκέρως, Luke xvi. 13. (according to that of etymol. Κύριος τὸν πρὸς τι ἐστίν, ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸν οὐκέρως.) to δούλος, Matt. x. 24. xviii. 25. &c. And in the apostolical rules pertaining to Christian economics, the master and servant are δούλος and κύριος. As also by way of addition κύριος τοῦ θεοῦ μου, Matt. ix. 38. κύριος τοῦ ἀμαρτανῶν, Matt. xx. 8. κύριος τῆς οὐκίας, Mark xiii. 35. Inasmuch as κύριος is sometimes used by way of address or salutation of one man to another, (as it is now generally among the later Greeks, and as Dominus was anciently among the Latins, Quomodo obvis, si nomen non occurrat, Dominos salutamus. Sen.) not only of servants to masters, as Matt. xiii. 27. or sons to parents, Matt. xxi. 30. or inferiors to men in authority, as Matt. xxvii. 63. but of strangers; as when the Greeks spake to Philip, and desired him, saying, Κύριε, θέλωμεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν, John xii. 21. and Mary Magdalen speaking unto

most certain that Christ is called *Lord* in another notion than that which signifies any kind of human dominion, because as so, "there are many Lords," (1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.) but he is in that notion *Lord*, (Eph. iv. 5.) which admits of no more than *one*. They are only "masters according to the flesh," (Coloss. iii. 22.) he "the Lord of glory, the Lord from heaven," (1 Cor. ii. 8. xv. 47.) "King of kings, and Lord of all other lords." (Rev. ix. 16.)

Nor is it difficult to find that name amongst the books of the law in the most high and full signification; for it is most frequently used as the name of the supreme God, sometimes for *El* or *Elohim*, sometimes for *Shaddai* or the *Rock*, often for *Adonai*, and most universally for *Jehovah*, the undoubted proper name of God, and that to which the Greek translators long before our Saviour's birth, had most appropriated the name of Lord, not only by way of explication, but distinction and particular expression. As when we read, "thou whose name alone is *Jehovah*, art the most high in all the earth," (Psal. lxxxiii. 18.) and when God so expresseth himself, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name *Jehovah* was I not known unto them." (Exod. vi. 3.) In both these places, for the name *Jehovah* the Greek translation, which the apostles followed, hath no other name but *Lord*; and therefore undoubtedly by that word which we translate *the Lord*,* did they understand

Christ, but taking him for a gardener, Κύρις, ὁ ἐν ἑσθλασας αὐτῶν, John xx. 15. And it cannot be denied but this title was sometimes given to our Saviour himself, in no higher or other sense than this; as when the Samaritan woman saw him alone at the well, and knew no more of him than that he appeared to be one of the Jews, she said, Κύρις, ἀντλήμας οὐκ ἔχεις, καὶ τὸ φέρας ἰσὶν ἑσθλόν. John iv. 11. And the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda, when he wist not who it was, said unto him, Κύρις, ἀντλήμας οὐκ ἔχω, John v. 7. The blind man, to whom he had restored his sight, with the same salutation maketh confession of his ignorance, and his faith, Τίς ἰσὶς Κύρις; and ἠσπασάμην Κυρίου, John ix. 36. 38.

* I knew it is the vulgar opinion, that κύριος properly answereth unto אֲדֹנָי and the reason why it was also used for יהוה is no other than because the Jews were wont to read *Adonai* in the place of *Jehovah*. Of which observation they make great use who deny the Divinity of Christ. "Quia enim *Adonai* pro *Jehovah* in lectione

Hebræorum verborum substitui consuevit, ideo illius etiam interpretatio huic accommodatur," says *Crellius de Deo et Attrib.* c. 14. But first it is not probable that the LXX. should think κύριος to be the proper interpretation of אֲדֹנָי, and give it to *Jehovah* only in the place of *Adonai*; for if they had, it would have followed, that where *Adonai* and *Jehovah* had met together in one sentence, they would not have put another word for *Adonai*, to which κύριος was proper, and place κύριος for *Jehovah*, to whom of itself (according to their observation) it did not belong. Whereas we read not only אֲדֹנָי יהוה translated *dominus deus* κύριος, Gen. xv. 2. 8. and יהוה צבאות יהוה *dominus exercitus* κύριος *Sabaōth*, Isa. i. 24. but also יהוה אֲדֹנָינוּ κύριος *dominus* τοῦ θεοῦ *heoū theōū*, Nehem. x. 29. Secondly, the reason of this assertion is most uncertain. For though it be confessed that the Masoreths did read אֲדֹנָי where they found יהוה and Josephus before them expresses the sense

the proper name of God, *Jehovah*. And had they placed it there as the exposition of any other name of God, they had

of the Jews of his age, that the τετραγράμματος was not to be pronounced, and before him Philo speaks as much; yet it followeth not from thence, that the Jews were so superstitious above three hundred years before; which must be proved before we can be assured that the LXX. read *Adonai* for *Jehovah*, and for that reason translated it *Κύριος*. Thirdly, as we know no reason why the Jews should so confound the names of God; so were it now very irrational in some places to read אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה. As when God saith, "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob," בָּאֵל שַׁדַּי וְשְׁמִי יְהוָה though the vulgar translation renders it, *In Deo omnipotente, et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis*, and thereby make an apparent sense no way congruous to the intended importance of the Holy Ghost (for it cannot be imagined either that God should not be known to Abraham by the name *Adonai*, or that it were any thing to the present intentment, which was to encourage Moses and the Israelites by the interpretation of the name *Jehovah*); yet we have no reason to believe that the LXX. made any such heterogeneous translation, which we read καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου Κύριος οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς. Thus again, where God speaks unto Moses, Οὗτος ἔστις τῷς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν, ἀπεριστάτως μετὰ τῶν ὑμῶν, τοῦτο μου ἵσως ὄνομα ἀλόγιον, Exod. iii. 15. whosoever thinks *Κύριος* stands for *Adonai*, doth injury to the translators; and whosoever readeth *Adonai* for *Jehovah*, puts a force upon the text. As also when the prophet David saith, "that men may know that thou whose name alone is *Jehovah*, art the most high over all the earth." I confess the ancient fathers did, together with the Jews, read *Adonai* for *Jehovah* in the Hebrew text, as appeareth by those words of Epiphanius de Ponderibus: 'Αδωναι, ἡλχθ, κασιθι, Ἰσραὴλ, ἰεσσαρ, ἀνά. which very corruptly represents part of the first verse of the 141st Psal. יְהוָה קראתך לִי הָאֲנֹכִי קוֹלִי but plainly enough render יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי. Notwithstanding it is very observable, that they were wont to distinguish *Κύριος*, in the Greek translations where it stood for *Jehovah*, from *Κύριος*; where it stood for *Adonai*; and that was done by adding in the margin the tetragrammaton itself, יְהוָה which by the ignorance of the Greek scribes, who understood not the

Hebrew characters, was converted into four Greek letters, and so made a word of no signification, ΙΗΗΙ. This is still extant in the copy of the text of Isaiah printed by Carterius with the Commentary of Procopius, and St. Jerome gives an account of it in the Greek copies of his age. "Nomen τετραγράμματος, quod ἀνομήν-τω, id est ineffabile putaverunt, quod his literis scribitur jod ὃ he ἦ van ὦ he ἦ quod quidam non intelligentes, propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in Græcis libris repererint, pipi legere consueverunt." Ep. 136. Neither did the Greeks only place this ΙΗΗΙ in the margin of their translations, but when they described the Hebrew text in Greek characters they used the same ΙΗΗΙ for יְהוָה, and consequently did not read *Adonai* for *Jehovah*. An example of this is to be found in that excellent copy of the prophets according to the LXX. collated with the rest of the translators, in the library of the most eminent Cardinal Barberin; where at the 13th verse of the 2d chapter of Malachi these words are written after the translation of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, out of the Hebrew text, after the manner of Origen's Hexapla, of which there is an excellent example in that MS. Οὐδὲν, σπῆθ, θυσου, χρισου, Δεμα, ἰμαλθου, (1. Σου.) ρωσι, ξου, ουακα, μωρ, ωδ, φουθ, ηλ, αμμου, ουλανθ, ρανου, μωδουγμ, which are a very proper expression of these following Hebrew words, according to the punctuation and reading of that age, וְהָאֵל שֵׁנִית תַּעֲשֶׂוּ כְמוֹת דְּמֻעָה אֶת מִזְבַּח יְהוָה בְּכִי וּבְהִקָּה מֵאֵין עַד פְּנוֹת אֵל הַמְּנַחֵה וּלְקֹדֶת רֶשֶׁן מִדְּכֶם. By which it is evident that Origen in his Hexapla, from whence undoubtedly that ancient scholiast took his various translations, did not read *Adonai* in that place; but kept the Hebrew characters, which they who understood them not, formed into those Greek letters ρωσι. And certainly the preserving of the name *Jehovah* in the Greek translations was very ancient, for it was described in some of them with the ancient characters, as St. Jerome testifieth, "et nomen Domini Tetragrammaton in quibusdam Græcis voluminibus usque hodie antiquis expressum literis invenimus." Ep. 106. Being then we cannot be assured that the LXX. read אֲדֹנָי for יְהוָה being they have used *Κύριος* for *Jehovah*, when they have made use of the

made an interpretation contrary to the manifest intention of the Spirit: for it cannot be denied but God was known to Abraham by the true importance of the title *Adonai*, as much as by the name of *Shaddai*: as much by his dominion and sovereignty, as by his power and all-sufficiency: but by any experimental and personal sense of the fulfilling of his promises his name *Jehovah* was not known unto him: for though God spake expressly unto Abraham, "All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever," (Gen. xiii. 15. xxvi. 3.) yet the history teacheth us, and St. Stephen confirmeth us, that "he gave him none inheritance in it, no not so much as to set his foot on, though he promised that he would give it to him for a possession." (Acts vii. 5.) Wherefore when God saith he was not known to Abraham by his name *Jehovah*, the interpretation of no other name can make good that expression: and therefore we have reason to believe the word which the first Greek translators, and after them the apostles, used, may be appropriated to that notion which the original requires; as indeed it may, being derived from a verb of the same signification with the Hebrew root,* and so denoting the essence or existence of God, and whatsoever else may be deduced from thence, as revealed by him to be signified thereby.

general word *Θεός* for *Adonai*; being in some places *Adonai* cannot be read for *Jehovah*, without manifest violence offered to the text: it followeth, that it is no way probable that *Κύριος* should therefore be used for *Jehovah*, because it was taken for the proper signification of *Adonai*.

* It is acknowledged by all that *יהוה* is from *יהי* or *יהיה*, and God's own interpretation proves no less *יהוה יהי* Exod. iii. 14. And though some contend that futurity is essential to the name, yet all agree the root signifieth nothing but essence or existence, that is, *יהי*, or *יהיה*. Now as from *יהי* in the Hebrew *יהוה*, so in the Greek *ἀπὸ τοῦ κύριου Κύριος*. And what the proper signification of *κύριος* is, no man can teach us better than Hesychius, in whom we read *Κύριος, ὑπάρχει, τυγχάνει, κύριος prima longa, κύριος prima brevi*. Sophocl. Oedipo Colon. *παρ' ὃ δύαν ἔκυρον*. Schol. *Θύαν ἔκυρον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκύρου, ταυτὶν δὲ τῷ ἐτύγγανον*. Hence was *κύριος* by the Attics used for *ἔστω* sit: so I take it from the words of the scholiast upon Sophocles, *τὸ κυρὸν περιεσωμαίνων φησὶν ἡ συνήθεια καὶ Ἀττικοί, ἐν δὲ εὐκταίοις βαρύν-*

ουσαν αὐτὸ Ἀττικοὶ μετὰ ἐντάσεως τοῦ υ, κύριον λήγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρῶν. Not that they used it by an apocope, taking *ν* from *κυρῶν*, but that *κύριος* was taken in the sense of *κυρῶν* or *κυρόω*, from *κύειν, ὑπάρχει, κύειν, εἶναι* or *ὑπάρχει*, as the scholiast upon those words of Sophocles, *Διόλα δουλῶν κυρεῖς* Κυρεῖς, ἔγουν ὑπάρχεις. Neither know I better how to render *κυρεῖς* than by *ὑπάρχεις* in the place of Æschylus's Promethus,

*Ζηλῶ σ' ὅθ' οἶκον' ἐντὸς αἰτίας κυρεῖς,
Πάντων μετασχεῖν καὶ τεταλμυκῶς ἱμῶν.*

As the Arundelian scholiast upon the Septem Thebana, *κυρεῖ, ὑπάρχει*, and in the same tragedy, *ἔω' ἀσπίδος κυρεῖν*, is rendered by the more ancient scholiast, *εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος*: as in the *Perse*, *σισσωμένους κυρεῖ*, is by the same interpreter explained *κυρεῖ καὶ ὑπάρχει σισσωμένους*. So the same poet in his Agamemnon,

*Ταύτην ἑωανῶν πάντοθεν ἀλγύνουμαι,
Τραυρὸς Ἀργείων εἰδέναι κυρεῖνδ' ὄψεαι.*

Which the scholiast renders thus: *Ἐωανῶμαι διαφόρως ταύτην γνῶμην, τὸ μαθεῖν ἐν ὧς ἐστὶ καταστάσει ὁ βασιλεὺς*. And no other sense can be imagined of that verse

Being then this title *Lord* thus signifieth the proper name of God *Jehovah*, being the same is certainly attributed unto Christ in a notion far surpassing all other lords, which are rather to be looked upon as servants unto him: it will be

in Sophocles, *οὐκ ἐσθ' ἡμεῖς τὰνδρος οὐ ζῆτις κερῶν*, than by rendering it, *ἐσθ' ἐρ ὑπάρχω* and p. 296. *καὶ γὰρ εἰ γέρον κερῶ, τὸ τίςδε χάρας οὐ γεγήρακε σδίνος* and p. 415. *Ἄλλ' ἰδέεδ' ἔδη τοῦδε τοῦ πάδους κερῶ* or of that in Euripides's *Phoenissæ*,

ὦδ', τίς ἐν σὺλκισι δομέκτων κερῶ;
This original interpretation appeareth farther in the frequent use of *κέρω* for *τυγχάνω*, as it signifieth no more than *sum*: as in Sophocles, *εὐδύνω κερῶς* for *εὐδύνω*, *μυστὴν κερῶς* for *μυστῆς*, *ἱπικαίζων κερῶ* for *ἱπικαίζω*, *ὄν κερῶς* for *εἰς*, *ἱεῖδας κερῶ* for *ἱεῖδα*, *κερῶ λείσσω* for *λείσσω*, *δρῶν κερῶς* for *δράς*, *ἠπατημένος κερῶ* for *ἠπατήμαι*, *εἰρηαὶς κερῶ* for *εἰρηαί*, *εἰπὼν κερῶς* for *εἰπας*, *κέρω ζῶσα* for *ζῶ* and in Euripides, *ἔχων κερῶς* for *ἔχων*, *εἰσβαίνουσα κερῶ* for *εἰσβαίνω*, *ἀδυναμῶν κερῶ* for *ἀδυναμῶν*, or *ἀδυναμῶν*, as the scholiast. From all which it undeniably appeareth, that the ancient signification of *κέρω* or *κέρω* is the same with *εἰμι*, or *ὑπάρχω*, *sum*, *I am* (which is much confirmed by that it was anciently observed to be a verb transitive, as it was used by the forementioned author, *κέρω συζυγίας πρώτης τῶν περιποιημένων, τὸ περιτυγχάνω* ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὑπάρχει κατὰ τοὺς τραγικούς ἀμετάβατον. So an ancient Lexicon); and therefore *κέρω* immediately derived from thence must be *ὁ δὲ*, or *ὁ ὑπάρχων* and consequently the proper interpretation of *יהוה* descending from the root *יהי* of the same signification. And well may we conceive the LXX. for this reason to have so translated it, because we find the origination delivered by them in that notion, rendering *יהוה* *ὁ ὢν*, Exod. iii. 14. *ἔγω εἰμὶ ὁ ὢν*; and again, *ὁ ὢν ἀποκαταλέγει με πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. From whence considering the name *יהוה* proceeding from that root, and giving relation to that sense, they made use of the word *κέρω* for the standing interpretation of that name, as being equivalent to *ὁ ὢν*. We have no reason then to conceive either that they so translated it out of the superstition of the Jews (as some would persuade us, whom we have already refuted) or because they had no letters in the Greek language by which they could express the Hebrew name, whereas we find it often expressed even among the gentile Greeks, but because they thought the Greek *κέρω* to be a proper interpretation, as being reducible to the same signification. For even they

which are pretended to have read *Adonai* for *Jehovah*, as Origen, &c. do acknowledge that the heathens and the ancient hereticks descending from the Jews had a name by which they did express the Hebrew *Jehovah*. We know that oracle preserved by Macrobius, *Saturnal.* lib. i. c. 18. *φάλετο τὸν πάντων ὑπάρχον τὸν ἱμῶν ἰαῶ*. And Diodorus hath taught us from whence that name first came, mentioning Moses in this manner, *Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσὴν τὸν ἰαῶ ἱπικαλούμενον θεόν* and Theodoret more expressly, *Quæst.* 15. in Exod. *Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν Σαμαριτῆται μὲν ἰαῶ, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἰαῶ*. Porphyrius, l. iv. cont. *Christian.* tells us, Sanchoniathon had his relations of the Jews, *παρὰ ἱεροβάλου τοῦ ἱερέως θεοῦ τοῦ ἰαῶ*. Eusebius (as we formerly mentioned) said, *ἰαῶς ἰστιν, ἰαῶς σωτήρ*. Hesychius, *ἰαῶδαμ, ἰαῶ σωτήρ*, taking *ἰα* in composition for the contraction of *ἰαῶ*. As *ἰαῶς ἱεροβάται, ὑψίστου ποιῶντος*. And the LXX. Jer. xxiii. 6. have rendered *יהוה יהוה ἰαῶ*, *id est, Dominus justus*, saith St. Jerome. And as the heathens and the first Christians, so the hereticks had among them the pronounciation and expression of the name *יהוה*. As the Valentinian was baptized *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἰαῶ*. *Iren.* l. i. and the Ophiani had their several gods, among the rest, *ἀπὸ μὲν μεγάλος τὸν ἰαῶδαμ καὶ τὸν ἰαῶταῖον, καὶ τὸν ὀραῖον ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἑβραίων γραφὴν τὸν ἰαῶ*. *ἰα παρ' ἑβραίων ὀνομαζόμενον*. *Orig. cont. Cels.* l. vi. So I read it, not as it is in the edition of Hoeschelus, *ἰαῶς* in one word, or *ἰαῶς*, as our learned countryman Nicolaus Fullerus hath endeavoured in vain to rectify it; but *ἰαῶ* *ἰα*, that is, the Ophiani took the name *ἰαῶ* from the Jews, among whom it signifies the same who is called *Jah*. For that it ought so to be read, appeareth by the former words of Origen, *ὀνοματὶ τὸν διελθόντα τὸν ἰαῶδαμ καὶ φάσοντα ἐπὶ τὸν ἰαῶ δὲν λέγειν*, *ἔδ δὲ κρυπτομένην μυστηρίαν υἱοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀρχῆς νεκροφανῆς διέτρεψεν ἰαῶ*. In the printed copy indeed it is *ἰαῶδὲν*, and in the Latin *Iadin*, but without sense: whereas dividing the words, the sense is manifest, and the reason of the former emendation apparent. Being then there were so many among the Greeks, which did in all ages express the Hebrew name, it can be no way probable that the LXX. should avoid it as inexpressible in their language.

worth our inquiry next, whether as it is the translation of the name *Jehovah* it belong to Christ; or whether though he be Lord of all other lords, as subjected under his authority, yet he be so inferior unto him whose name alone is *Jehovah*, as that in that propriety and eminency in which it belongs unto the supreme God it may not be attributed unto Christ.

This doubt will easily be satisfied, if we can shew the name *Jehovah* itself to be given unto our Saviour; it being against all reason to acknowledge the original name, and to deny the interpretation in the sense and full importance of that original. Wherefore if Christ be the *Jehovah*, as so called by the Spirit of God; then is he so the *Lord*, in the same propriety and eminency in which *Jehovah* is. Now whatsoever did belong to the *Messias*, that may and must be attributed unto Jesus, as being the true and only Christ. But the Jews themselves acknowledge that *Jehovah* shall be known clearly in the days of the *Messias*, and not only so, but that it is the name which properly belongeth to him.* And if they cannot but confess so much who only read the prophecies, as the eunuch did, without an interpreter; how can we be ignorant of so plain and necessary a truth, whose eyes have seen the full completion, and read the infallible interpretation of them? If they could see "*Jehovah the Lord of hosts*" to be the name of the *Messias*, who was to them "*for a stone of stumbling and rock of offence*," (Isa. viii. 13, 14.) how can we possibly be ignorant of it, who are taught by St. Paul, that in Christ this prophecy was fulfilled, "*As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, and rock of offence, and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*." (Rom. ix. 33.) It was no other than *Jehovah* who spake these words, "*I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord (Jehovah) their God, and will not save them by bow nor sword*."† Where not only he who is described as the original and principal cause, that is, the Father who gave his Son, but also he who is the immediate efficient of our salvation, and that in opposition to all other means or instrumental causes, is called *Jehovah*; who can be no other than our Jesus, because

* As Midrash Tillim on 21st Psal. servable that the Chaldee paraphrase hath
Kohā Rabati, Lam. i. 6. *בְּיְהוָה* for *בְּיְהוָה* by the word

† Hos. i. 7. where it is farther ob-
of *Jehovah*, for *Jehovah*.

"there is no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved." (Acts iv. 12.) As in another place he speaketh, "I will strengthen them in the Lord (Jehovah), and they shall walk up and down in his name saith the Lord (Jehovah);" (Zech. x. 12.) where he which strengtheneth is one, and he by whom he strengtheneth is another, clearly distinguished from him by the personal pronoun, and yet each of them is *Jehovah*, and "*Jehovah* our God is one *Jehovah*." (Deut. vi. 4.) Whatsoever objections* may be framed

* Two adversaries we have to the exposition of this place, the Jew and the Socinian; only with this difference, that we find the less opposition from the Jew, from whom indeed we have so ample a concession as will destroy the other's contradiction. First, Socinus answers, the name belongeth not to Christ, but unto Israel; and that it so appears by a parallel place in the same prophet, Jer. xxxiii. 15, 16. Socin. refut. Jac. Wieki, cap. 6. *Catech. Racov. de Pers. Christi*, c. 1. *Crellius de Deo et Attrib.* l. i. c. 11. To this we first oppose the constant interpretation of the Jews, who attribute the name *Jehovah* to the Messias from this one particular text. As in the *Sepher. Ikhar*. lii. c. 8. **יְקָרָא הַכְּתוּב שֵׁם הַמְּשִׁיחִי** צדקנו *The Scripture calleth the name of the Messias "Jehovah our righteousness."* And in *Misdrasch Tillim* on Psal. xxi.

יְקָרָא לַמֶּלֶךְ הַמְּשִׁיחַ בְּשֵׁמוֹ וּמִנֵּה שְׁמוֹ יְהוָה שֵׁן יְהוָה אִישׁ מַלְחָמָה יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ וּבַמֶּלֶךְ הַמְּשִׁיחַ כְּתִיב יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר יְקָרָא יְהוָה צדקנו *God calleth the Messias by his own name, and his name is Jehovah; as it is said (Exod. xv. 3.) "The Lord is a man of war, Jehovah is his name."* And it is written of the Messias, (Jer. xxiii. 6.) "And this is the name which they shall call him, *Jehovah* our righteousness." Thus Echa

מה שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל מְשִׁיחַ מֵאֵל אָבָא וְהוּא שְׁמוֹ שֵׁן וְהוּא שְׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר יְקָרָא יְהוָה צדקנו *What is the name of the Messias? R. Abba said, Jehovah is his name; as it is said (Jer. xxiii. 6.) And this is the name which they shall call him, "Jehovah our righteousness."* The same he reports of Rabbi Levi. The rabbins then, though enemies to the truth which we deduce from thence, constrained by the literal importance of the text, did acknowledge that the name *Jehovah* did belong to the Messias. And as for the

collection of the contrary from the parallel place pretended, there is not so great a similitude as to enforce the same interpretation. For whereas in Jerem. xxiii. 6. it is expressly said, **יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ** *this is the name*, in the 33rd. it is only **יְהוָה** without any mention of a name; and surely that place cannot prove *Jehovah* to be the name of Israel, which speaks not one word of the name of Jerusalem: for where we read in Crellius, *hoc scilicet nomen est*, all but *hoc* is not in Scripture, but the gloss of Crellius, and *hoc* itself cannot be warranted for the interpretation of **יְהוָה** nor *quo* for **אֲשֶׁר**; the simplest interpretation of those words **יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר יְקָרָא** being, *iste qui vocabit eam*, he which calleth Jerusalem, is the Lord our righteousness, that is, Christ. And thus the first answer of Socinus is invalid: which he easily foreseeing, hath joined with the Jewish rabbins in the second answer, admitting that "*Jehovah* our righteousness" is the name of the Messias, but withal denying that Christ is that *Jehovah*. To which purpose they assert these words, "*Jehovah* our righteousness," to be delivered by way of proposition, not of apposition: and this they endeavour to prove by such places of Scripture as seem to infer as much. As Moses built an altar, and called the name of it "*Jehovah* Nissi," Exod. xvii. 15. Gideon built an altar unto the Lord, and called it "*Jehovah* Shalom," Judge vi. 24. And the name of the city in the last words of Ezeziel is "*Jehovah* Shammah." In all which places it is most certain, that the *Jehovah* is not predicated of that of whose name it is a part; but is the subject of a proposition, given by way of nomination, whose verb substantive or copula is understood. But from thence to conclude, that the "*Lord* our righteousness" can be no otherwise understood of Christ than as a proposition, and that we by calling him so, according to the prophet's prediction, can understand no more thereby, than that God the Father of

against us, we know Christ is the "righteous branch raised unto David, the King that shall reign and prosper, in whose days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely;" (Jer. xxiii. 5, 6.) we are assured that "this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness:" *the Lord*, that is, *Jehovah*, the expression of his supremacy; and the addition of "our righteousness" can be no diminution to his majesty. If those words in the prophet, "Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Sion; for lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord (*Jehovah*)," (Zech. ii. 10, 11.) did not sufficiently of themselves denote our Saviour who dwelt amongst us, as they certainly do; yet the words which follow would evince as much; "And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee:" for what other Lord can we conceive dwelling in the midst of us, and sent unto us by the Lord of hosts, but Christ?

And as the original *Jehovah* was spoken of Christ by the holy prophets; so the title of *Lord*, as the usual interpretation of that name, was attributed unto him by the apostles.

Christ doth justify us, is most irrational. For first, It is therefore necessary to interpret those names by way of a proposition of themselves, because *Jehovah* cannot be the predicate of that which is named; it being most apparent, that an altar or a city built cannot be God: and whatsoever is not *Jehovah* without addition, cannot be *Jehovah* with addition. But there is no incongruity in attributing of that name to Christ, to whom we have already proved it actually given: and our adversaries, who teach that the name *Jehovah* is sometimes given to the angels representing God, must acknowledge that it may be given unto Christ, whom they confess to be above all angels, and far more fully and exactly than the Father. Secondly, That which is the addition in those names cannot be truly predicated of that thing which bears the name. Moses could not say that altar was his exaltation, nor Gideon that it was his peace. And if it could not so be predicated by itself, it could neither be by apposition, and, consequently, even in this respect, it was necessary to make the name a proposition. But our righteousness may undoubtedly be predicated of him, who is here called by the name of the "Lord our righteousness:" for the apostle hath expressly taught

us, that he is "made righteousness unto us," 1 Cor. i. 30. And if it may be in itself, there can be no repugnancy in its predication by way of apposition. Thirdly, That addition of our righteousness doth not only truly belong to Christ, but in some manner properly and peculiarly so, as in that notion it can belong to no other person called *Jehovah*, but to that Christ alone. For he alone "is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," Rom. x. 4. And when he is said to be "made unto us righteousness," 1 Cor. i. 30. he is thereby distinguished from God the Father. Being then Christ is thus peculiarly called our righteousness in the gospel, being the place of the prophet forementioned speaketh of this as a name to be used under the gospel, being no other person called *Jehovah* is ever expressly called our righteousness in the gospel; it followeth, not only that Christ may be so called, but that the prophecy cannot otherwise be fulfilled, than by acknowledging that Christ is "the Lord our righteousness:" and, consequently, that is his name, not by way of proposition, but of apposition and appropriation; so that being both *Jehovah* and our righteousness, he is as truly *Jehovah* as our righteousness.

In that signal prediction of the first age of the gospel, God promised by Joel, that "whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord (Jehovah) shall be delivered:" (Joel ii. 32.) and St. Paul hath assured us that Christ is that *Lord*, by proving from thence, that "whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed;" (Rom. x. 9. 11. 13.) and inferring from that, "if we confess with our mouth the Lord Jesus, we shall be saved." For if it be a certain truth, that whosoever confesseth the Lord Jesus shall be saved; and the certainty of this truth depend upon that foundation, that whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed; and the certainty of that in relation to Christ depend upon that other promise, "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved:" then must the *Lord* in the thirteenth verse of the tenth chapter to the Romans be the same with the *Lord Jesus* in the ninth verse; or else St. Paul's argument must be invalid and fallacious, as containing that in the conclusion which was not comprehended in the premises. But the *Lord* in the ninth verse is no other than *Jehovah*, as appeareth by the prophet Joel from whom that scripture is taken. Therefore our Saviour in the New Testament is called *Lord*, as that name or title is the interpretation of *Jehovah*.

If we consider the office of John the Baptist peculiar unto him, we know it was he of whom it is written in the prophet Malachi, "I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me:" (Matt. xi. 10.) we are sure he which spake those words was (Jehovah) "the Lord of hosts;" (Mal. iii. 1.) and we are sure that Christ is that Lord before whose face John the Baptist prepared the way. "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness (saith Isaiah,) Prepare ye the way of the Lord (Jehovah):" and "this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah," saith St. Matthew (iii. 3.) this is he of whom his father Zechariah did divinely presage, "Thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his way." (Luke i. 76.) Where *Christ* is certainly *the Lord*, and *the Lord* undeniably *Jehovah*.*

* I say therefore undeniably, because it is not only the undoubted translation of the name יהוה in the prophet (which of itself were sufficient); but also is delivered in that manner which is (though unreasonably) required to signify the proper name of God, *πρωτογενής γὰρ πρὸ πάντων*

οὐκ ἐκ κενου, not *τὸ κενον*, that is, without, not with, an article. For now our Saviour's Deity must be tried by a kind of school divinity, and the most fundamental doctrine, maintained as such ever since the apostles' times by the whole catholic church, must be examined, cen-

Nor is this the only notation of the name or title *Lord* taken in a sense Divine, above the expression of all mere hu-

sured and condemned, by ϵ , θ , $\rho\delta$. Socius first makes use of this observation against Wiekus; and after him Crellius hath laid it as a grave and serious foundation, and spread it out into its several corners, to uphold the fabric of his superstructions. First, "*Vox Jehovah magis quam cætera Dei nomina propriorum naturam sequitur; ideo etiam Græca Κύριος, cum pro illa ponitur, propriorum indolem, qua licet, æmulatur.*" Secondly, "*Propriis nominibus articulus libentius subtrahitur, licet eum etiam sæpe concinnitatis potius quam necessitatis causa admittant. Idem fit in voce Κύριος cum pro Jehovah ponitur.*" Thirdly, "*Hæc est causa cur in Novo Testamento, maxime apud Lucam et Paulum, vox Κύριος, cum Deum summum designat, articulo libentius careat; ad eum de Christo subjective usurpatur, raro articulus omittitur.*" What strange uncertainties are these, to build the denial of so important an article as Christ's Divinity upon? He does not say absolutely Jehovah is the proper name of God, but only that it doth more follow the nature of proper names than the other names of God. And indeed it is certain that sometimes it hath the nature of an appel-

lative, as Deut. vi. 4. יהוה אחד *יהוה אחד* the Lord our God is one Lord; and yet if it be not always and absolutely a proper name, though all the rest were granted to be true, the argument must be of no validity. Again, he cannot say an article is never affixed to a proper name, but only that "libentius subtrahitur," it is rather omitted than affixed: which yet is far from a certain or a true rule, especially in the language of the New Testament. For no man can deny Jesus to be the proper name of Christ, given him according to the law at his ciroumoision, *καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς*, Luke ii. 21. and yet whosoever shall read the Gospel of St. Matthew, will find it ten times δ *Ἰησοῦς* with an article, for once *Ἰησοῦς* without it. And in the Acts of the Apostles, written in a more Attic style, St. Paul is oftener styled δ *Παῦλος* than simply *Παῦλος*. So Balaam, Gallio, &c. Some persons we find in the New Testament, whom, if we should stay till we found them without an article, we should never call by their names at all; as Apelles, Belak, &c. Thirdly, δ *Κύριος* is so often used for that God who is the Father with an article, and *Κύριος* for the Son without an article, (for the Father,

Matt. i. 22. ii. 15. v. 33. xxii. 24. Mark xii. 36. Luke i. 6. 9. 15. 25. 46. ii. 15. 22. 23. x. 2. Acts ii. 25. 34. iii. 19. xvii. 27. Rom. xv. 11. 1 Cor. x. 26. xvi. 7. 2 Cor. v. 11. Eph. v. 27. 19. Col. iii. 16. 20. 23. 2 Thess. iii. 3. 2 Tim. i. 16. Heb. viii. 2. 11. 12. 14. Jam. iv. 10, 15. 1 Pet. ii. 3. For the Son, Matt. iii. 3. xxii. 43. 45. Mark i. 3. Luke i. 76. ii. 11. iii. 4. xx. 44. John i. 23. Acts ii. 36. xv. 36. xi. 16. 21. xv. 11. Rom. i. 7. x. 9. 12. xiv. 6. 8. 14. xvi. 2. 8. 11—13. 22. 1 Cor. i. 3. iv. 17. vii. 22. 25. 39. ix. 1, 2. x. 21. xi. 11. xii. 3. xiv. 37. xv. 58. xvi. 10. 19. 2 Cor. i. 2. ii. 12. iv. 5. x. 17. xi. 17. xii. 1. Gal. i. 3. v. 10. Eph. i. 2. ii. 21. iv. 1. v. 17. v. 8. vi. 4. 10. 21. 23. Phil. i. 2. 14. ii. 11. 19. 24. 29. iii. 1. 20. iv. 1, 2. 10. Col. i. 3. iii. 17. 18. 24. iv. 7. 17. 1 Thess. i. 1. iii. 8. iv. 15. 17. v. 2. 12. 2 Thess. i. 4. 2. ii. 13. iii. 4. 1 Tim. i. 1. 2 Tim. ii. 24. Tit. i. 4. Philem. iii. 16. 20. Jam. i. 1. 2 Pet. iii. 8. 10. 2 John iii. Jude 14. Rev. xiv. 13. xix. 16.) I say, they are thus so often used, that though they equal not the number of their contrary acceptions, yet they come so near, as to yield good ground for any such observation, as if the Holy Ghost intended any such article—distinction. Nay, it is most evident that the sacred penmen intended no such distinction, because in the same place speaking of the same person, they usually observe the indifferency of adding or omitting the article. As Jam. v. 11. *Τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ τὸ τέλος Κυρίου εἶδεν, ὅτι σωθῆναι πολλοὺς ἐστιν ὁ Κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνην.* 2 Tim. i. 18. *Δὲν αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος εὐρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.* 1 Cor. vii. 17. *Ἐκαστον ὡς ἐκέλευεν ὁ Κύριος, οὕτω περιπατεῖτω.* 22. *Ὁ γὰρ ἐν Κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δούλος, ἀπελευθέρως Κυρίου ἐστί.* See Rom. xiv. 6—8. Wherefore being Jehovah is not affirmed absolutely to be a proper name; being if it were, yet it appears that it is not the custom of the New Testament to use every proper name oftener without an article than with one; being δ *Κύριος* is so often taken for him whom they acknowledge God, and *Κύριος* for him whom they cannot deny to be the Christ: it followeth that Christ, acknowledged to be the Lord, cannot by any virtue of an article be denied to be the true Jehovah. We must not then think to decide this controversy by the articles, of which the sacred penmen were not curious, and the transcribers have been very careless: nor is there so

man power and dominion; for as it is often used as the interpretation of the name *Jehovah*, so is it also for that of *Adon* or *Adonai*. "The Lord said unto my Lord," (Psal. cx. 1.) saith David, that is, in the original, *Jehovah* unto *Adon*; and that *Adon* is the *Word*,* that *Lord* is *Christ*. We know the temple at Jerusalem was the temple of the most high God, and the Lord of that temple in the emphasis of an Hebrew article was *Christ*, as appeareth by that prophet, "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in."

Now this notation, as it is the interpretation of *Adon*, signifieth immediately and properly *dominion* implying a right of possession, and power of disposing. Which doth not only agree with that other notion of *Jehovah*, but presupposes it, as following and flowing from it. For he who alone hath a being or existence of himself, and thereby is the fountain of all things beside himself, must be acknowledged to have full power and dominion over all: because every thing must necessarily belong to him from whom it hath received what it is. Wherefore being *Christ* is the *Lord*, as that title is taken for *Jehovah*, the name of God, expressing the necessary existence and independence of his single being, and consequently the dependency of all others upon him; it followeth, that he be acknowledged also the *Lord*, as that name expresseth *Adon*, signifying power authoritative and proper dominion. Thus having explained the notation of the word *Lord*, which we propounded as the first part of our exposition; we come next to the second, which is, to declare the nature of this dominion, and to shew how and in what respect *Christ* is the *Lord*.

Now for the full and exact understanding of the dominion seated or invested in *Christ* as the *Lord*, it will be necessary to distinguish it according to that diversity which the Scrip-

great uncertainty of the ancient MSS. in any thing as in the words and articles of *Κύριος* and *Θεός*. The vulgar edition, Rev. i. 8. hath *ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Κύριος* only, the Complutensis *ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος ὁ Θεός*, Plantine, *ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Κύριος ὁ Θεός*: against the Socinian rule, who will have an accession by *ὁ* to *Θεός*, and a diminution by *ὁ* from *Κύριος*. As Rev. iv. 11. "Ἄξιός ἐστι, κύριε, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν" in other MSS. "Ἄξιός ἐστι ὁ Κύριος καὶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγιός, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν." 1 Cor. xi. 27. τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναμίχας others

with an addition, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναμίχας τοῦ Κυρίου. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. the vulgar edition, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου σκὶν ἑνὶ καὶ: the Complutensis, ὅτι Κυρίου. So where we usually read *Χριστός*, divers ancient MSS. have *Κύριος*. Lastly, it is observable that even in these words of the Creed, which we now expound, *Κύριος* is spoken expressly of *Christ* without an article, for so we read it, Καὶ σὺ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, Κύριον ἡμῶν.

* Chaldee paraphrase.

tures represent unto us. As therefore we have observed two natures united in his person, so must we also consider two kinds of dominion belonging respectively to those natures; one inherent in his Divinity, the other bestowed upon his humanity; one, as he is the Lord the maker of all things, the other as he is made Lord of all things.

For the first, we are assured that the "Word was God," (John i. 1. 3.) that by the same Word "all things were made, and without him was not any thing made that was made;" we must acknowledge, that whosoever is the creator of all things must have a direct dominion over all, as belonging to the possession of the creator, who made all things. Therefore the *Word*, that is, *Christ* as God, hath the supreme and universal dominion of the world. Which was well expressed by that famous confession of no longer doubting, but believing Thomas, "my Lord and my God." (John xx. 28.)

For the second, it is also certain that there was some kind of lordship given or bestowed on Christ, whose very unction proves no less than an imparted dominion; as St. Peter tells us, that he was "made both Lord and Christ." (Acts ii. 36.) What David spake of man, the apostle hath applied peculiarly unto him, "Thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet." (Heb. ii. 7, 8.)

Now a dominion thus imparted, given, derived, or bestowed, cannot be that which belongeth unto God as God, founded in the Divine nature, because whatsoever is such is absolute and independent. Wherefore, this lordship thus imparted or acquired appertaineth to the human nature, and belongeth to our Saviour as the Son of man. The right of judicature is part of this power; and Christ himself hath told us, that the Father "hath given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man;" (John v. 27.) and by virtue of this delegated authority, the "Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and reward every man according to his works." (Matt. xvi. 27.) Part of the same dominion is the power of forgiving sins; as pardoning, no less than punishing, is a branch of the supreme magistracy: and Christ did therefore say to the sick of the palsy, "Thy sins be forgiven thee—that we might know that the Son of man had power on earth to forgive

sins." (Matt. ix. 2. 6.) Another branch of that power is the alteration of the law, there being the same authority required to abrogate or alter, which is to make a law: and Christ asserted himself to be "greater than the temple," (Matt. xii. 6. 8.) shewing that [the "Son of man was Lord even of the sabbath-day."

This dominion thus given unto Christ in his human nature was a direct and plenary power over all things, but was not actually given him at once, but part while he lived on earth, part after his death and resurrection. For though it be true that Jesus knew, before his death, "that the Father had given all things into his hands:" (John xiii. 3.) yet it is observable that in the same place it is written, that he likewise knew "that he was come from God, and went to God:" and part of that power he received when he came from God, with part he was invested when he went to God; the first to enable him, the second, not only so, but also to reward him. "For to this end Christ both died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living." (Rom. xiv. 9.) After his resurrection he said to his disciples, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." (Matt. xxviii. 18.) "He drank of the brook in the way, therefore he hath lift up his head." (Psal. cx. 7.) Because "he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross: therefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." (Phil. ii. 8—11.) Thus for and after his death he was instated in a full power and dominion over all things, even as the Son of man, but exalted by the Father, "who raised him from the dead, and set him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church." (Eph. i. 20—22.)

Now as all the power given unto Christ as man had not the same beginning in respect of the use or possession; so neither, when begun, shall it all have the same duration.

For part of it being merely economical, aiming at a certain end, shall then cease and determinate, when that end for which it was given shall be accomplished : part, being either due upon the union of the human nature with the Divine, or upon covenant, as a reward for the sufferings endured in that nature, must be coeval with that union and that nature which so suffered, and consequently must be eternal.

Of the first part of this dominion did David speak, when by the spirit of prophecy he called his Son his Lord ; " The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool ;" (Psal. cx. 1.) where the continuation of Christ's dominion over his enemies is promised to be prolonged until their final and total subjection. " For he must reign till he hath put all things under his feet." (1 Cor. xv. 25.) And as we are sure of the continuation of that kingdom till that time, so are we assured of the resignation at that time. For " when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power, then shall he deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father." (1 Cor. xv. 24. 28.) " And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." Thus he which was appointed to " rule in the midst of his enemies" (Psal. cx. 2.) during their rebellion, shall resign up his commission after their subjection.

But we must not look upon Christ only in the nature of a general, who hath received a commission, or of an ambassador, with perfect instructions, but of the only Son of God, empowered and employed to destroy the enemies of his Father's kingdom : and though thus empowered and commissioned, though resigning that authority which hath already had its perfect work, yet still the only Son and heir of all things in his Father's house, never to relinquish his dominion over those whom he hath purchased with his own blood, never to be deprived of that reward which was assigned him for his sufferings : for if the prize which we expect in the race of our imperfect obedience be an immarcessible crown, if the weight of glory which we look for from him be eternal ; then cannot his perfect and absolute obedience be crowned with a fading power, or he cease ruling over us, who hath always reigned in us. We shall for ever reign

with him, and he will make us priests and kings; but so that he continue still for ever high-priest and King of kings.

The certainty of this eternal dominion of Christ, as man, we may well ground upon the promise made to David, because by reason of that promise Christ himself is called David. For so God speaketh concerning his people; "I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them. I the Lord have spoken it." (Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.) Now the promise was thus made expressly to David, "Thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever." (2 Sam. vii. 16. עַד עוֹלָם) And although that term *for ever* in the Hebrew language may signify oft-times no more than a certain duration so long as the nature of the thing is durable, or at the utmost but to the end of all things; and so the economical dominion or kingdom of Christ may be thought sufficiently to fulfil their promise, because it shall certainly continue so long as the nature of that economy requireth, till all things be performed for which Christ was sent, and that continuation will infallibly extend unto the end of all things: yet sometimes also the same term *for ever* signifieth that absolute eternity of future duration which shall have no end at all: and that it is so far to be extended particularly in that promise made to David, and to be fulfilled in his Son, is as certain as the promise. For the angel Gabriel did give that clear exposition to the blessed Virgin, when in this manner he foretold the glory of him who was then to be conceived in her womb; "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke i. 32, 33.) Nor is this clearer in Gabriel's explication of the promise, than in Daniel's prevision of the performance, who "saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven; and came to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away,

and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." (Dan. vii. 13, 14.)

Thus Christ is *Lord* both by a natural and independent dominion: as God the creator, and consequently the owner of the works of his hands: and by a derived, imparted and dependent right, as man, sent, anointed, raised and exalted, and so made Lord and Christ: which authority so given and bestowed upon him is partly economical, and therefore to be resigned into the hands of the Father, when all those ends for which it was imparted are accomplished: partly so proper to the union, or due unto the passion, of the human nature, that it must be coeval with it, that is, of eternal duration.

The third part of our explication is, the due consideration of the object of Christ's dominion, inquiring whose Lord he is, and how *ours*. To which purpose first observe the latitude, extent, or rather universality of his power under which all things are comprehended, as subjected to it. For "he is Lord of all," (Acts x. 36.) saith St. Peter, of all things, and of all persons; and he must be so, who made all things as God, and to whom all power is given as man. To him then all things are subjected whose subjection employeth not a contradiction. "For he hath put all things under his feet: but when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him." (1 Cor. xv. 27.) God only then excepted, whose original dominion is repugnant to the least subjection; all things are subject unto Christ; whether they be things in heaven, or things on earth. In heaven he is far above all principalities and powers, and "all the angels of God worship him;" (Heb. i. 6.) on earth all nations are his inheritance, "and the uttermost parts of the earth are his possession." (Psal. ii. 8.) Thus Christ is certainly *our Lord*, because he is the Lord of all; and when all things were subjected to him, we were not excepted.

But in the midst of this universality of Christ's regal authority it will be farther necessary to find some propriety of dominion, by which he may be said to be peculiarly *our Lord*. It is true, he made us, and not we ourselves, we are the work of his hands; but the lowest of his creatures can speak as much. We are still preserved by his power, and as he made us, so doth he maintain us; but at the same time

he feedeth the ravens and clotheth the lilies of the field. Wherefore beside his original right of creation, and his continued right of preservation, we shall find a more peculiar right of redemption, belonging properly to the sons of men. And in this redemption though a single word, we shall find a double* title to a most just dominion, one of conquest, another of purchase.

We were first servants of the enemy of God; for him we obeyed, "and his servants we are to whom we obey: when Christ through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and delivered us; he spoiled principalities and powers, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them." (Rom. vi. 16. Heb. ii. 14. Col. ii. 15.) But contrary to the custom of triumphing conquerors, he did not sell, but buy us; because while he saved us, he died for us, and that death was the price by which he purchased us; even so this dying victor gave us life: upon the cross, as his triumphant chariot, he shed that precious blood which bought us, and thereby became our Lord by right of redemption, both as to conquest and to purchase.

Beside, he hath not only bought us, but provided for us; whatever we have, we receive from him as the master of the

* For the right understanding of this double title involved in the word redemption, it will be necessary to take notice of the ways by which human dominion is acquired, and servitude introduced. "Servi aut nascuntur, aut fiunt," saith the Civilian, Inst. l. i. tit. 3. but in Theology we say more, "Servi et nascuntur, et fiunt." Man is born the servant of God his maker, man is made the servant of his Redeemer. Two ways in general they observed by which they came to serve, who were not born slaves. "Fiunt aut jure gentium, id est, captivitate; aut jure civili, cum liber homo major viginti annis ad pretium participandum sese venundari passus est." Two ways then also there were by which dominion over those servants was acquired, by conquest or by purchase, and both these were always accounted just. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, an excellent historian, a curious observer of the Roman customs, and an exact judge of their actions, being a Grecian, justifieth the right which the masters in Rome claimed over their servants upon these two grounds. 'Επίγχανον δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἱ τῶν Σεραιωνίων κτήσεις κατὰ τοὺς δικαιοτάτους γινόμεναι τρόπους, ἢ γὰρ ἀποσπάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου

τοὺς ἐκτὸς δόξου πωλασμένους ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, ἢ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ συγχερήσαντος ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐφ' ἡμέταις καὶ δαμαλόντος τοῖς λαοῦσιν ἔχειν, ἢ περιάμενοι παρ' ἑτέρων, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τρόπους κυρίαν γενομένην ἐκέντητο τοῖς δούλοις, Hist. l. 4. Where it is also farther to be observed, that the same persons were made slaves by conquest, and possessed by purchase; by conquest to the city of Rome, by purchase to the Roman citizen. The general first took and saved them, and so made them his, that is, reduced them to the will and power of the state from which he received his commission, and in whose name and for whose interest he fought. This state exposed their interest to sale, and so whatever right had been gained by the conquering sword, was devolved on the Roman citizen for a certain sum of money paid to the state to defray the charges of that war. Thus every lord or master of a slave so taken had full power over him, and possession of him, by right of purchase, unto which he was first made liable by conquest. And though not exactly in that manner, yet by that double right, is Christ become our Lord, and we his servants.

family; we hold of him all temporal and eternal blessings, which we enjoy in this, or hope for in another life. He is the "Prince of life," (Acts iii. 15.) "and by him we live;" he is "the Lord of glory," (1 Cor. ii. 8.) and we are "called by his gospel to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord." (2 Thess. ii. 14.) Wherefore he hath us under his dominion; and becomes our Lord by right of *promotion*.

Lastly, men were not anciently sold always by others, but sometimes by themselves; and whosoever of us truly believe in Christ, have given up our names unto him. In our baptismal vow we bind ourselves unto his service, "that henceforth we will not serve sin; but yield ourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and our members as instruments of righteousness unto God: *that*, as we have yielded our members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity; even so *we should* yield our members servants to righteousness unto holiness." (Rom. vi. 6. 13. 19.) And thus the same dominion is acknowledged by compact, and confirmed by covenant; and so Christ becomes our *Lord* by right of *obligation*.

The necessity of believing and professing our faith in this part of the article appeareth, first, in the discovery of our condition; for by this we know that we are not our own, neither our persons nor our actions. "Know ye not (saith St. Paul), that ye are not your own? for ye are bought with a price." (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.) And ancient servitude, to which the Scriptures relate, put the servants wholly in the possession* of their master; so that their persons were as properly his as the rest of his goods. And if we be so in respect of Christ, then may we not live to ourselves but to him; for in

* Δούλος ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ ὡς πατὴρ ὁργάνον πᾶς ὁ ἰσχυρὸς. *Aristot.* Pol. l. i. c. 4. Τὸ τε γὰρ σῶμα ἐστὶν ὄργανον σώματος, καὶ τοῦ δεσποῦ τοῦ δούλου ὡς πατὴρ μέντοι καὶ ὄργανον ἀφαιρῶν τὸ δ' ὄργανον ὡς πατὴρ δούλος ἄφελος. *Id.* Eth. l. viii. c. 9. And again more expressly, Τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου, καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐν τούτῳ διδόναι. "Ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτοῦ φύσει, ἀλλ' ἄλλου, ἀνθρώπος δι, οὗτος φύσει δούλος ἐστὶν ἄλλου ὃ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος, ὃς ἂν κτῆμα ᾖ, ἀνθρώπος ἂν. So that the definition of a servant according to Aristotle is, He, who being a man, is notwithstanding the possession of a man. And although all relatives be predicated of each other in oblique, as *pater est filii pater, et filius*

patris filius, dominus est servi dominus, et servus domini servus; yet he observes a difference in this, that a servant is not only *servus domini*, but simply *domini*; but the master is not simply *servi*, but *dominus servi*, "Ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκείνου δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ δὲ δούλος οὐ μόνον δεσποῦντος δούλος ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλος ἐκείνου. The servant then is so wholly in the possession and for the use of his master, that he is nothing else but a living tool or instrument; "insomuch (says he), that if all tools were like those of Dædalus, or the tripods of Vulcan, which the poets feigned to move of themselves, artificers would need no under-workmen, nor masters servants."

this the difference of service and freedom doth properly consist :* we cannot do our own wills,† but the will of him whose we are. Christ took upon him the form of a servant : and to give us a proper and perfect example of that condition, he telleth us, “ I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.” (John vi. 38.) First therefore we must conclude with the apostle, reflecting upon Christ’s dominion and our obligation, that “ none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord ; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord : whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord’s.” (Rom. xiv. 7, 8.)

Secondly, The same is necessary both to enforce and invite us to obedience ; to enforce us, as he is *the Lord* ; to invite us, as *Christ the Lord*. If we acknowledge ourselves to be his servants, we must “ bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.” (2 Cor. x. 5.) He which therefore died, and rose and revived, that he might become the Lord both of the dead and living, maketh not that death and resurrection efficacious to any but such as by their service acknowledge that dominion which he purchased. He, “ though he were a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered ; and being made perfect, he is become the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him.” (Heb. v. 8, 9.) Thus the consideration of the power invested in him, and the necessity of the service due unto him, should force us to obedience ; while the consideration of him whom we are thus obliged to serve should allure and invite us. When God gave the law with fire and thunder, the affrighted Israelites desired to receive it from Moses, and upon that receipt promised obedience. “ Go thou near (said they to him), and hear all that the Lord our God shall say ; and speak thou unto us, and we will hear it and do it.” (Deut. v. 27.) If they interpreted it so great a favour to receive the law by the hands of Moses ; if they made so ready and cheerful a promise of exact obedience unto the law so given ; how should we be invited to the same promise, and a better performance, who have received the whole will of

* So Arist. *Ethic.* 4. Πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν δούλιον and in the first of his *Rhetorics* on the contrary, ἐλευθέρου τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν.

† Τὸ ζῆν ὡς βούλεται τις, τὸν ἐλευθερίας ἔργον, εἰπερ τοῦ δούλου ὄντος, τὸ ζῆν μὴ ὡς βούλεται. Arist. *Pol.* vi. 2. Quid est libertas ? potestas vivendi ut velis. Cic. *Parad.*

God revealed to us by the Son of man, who are to give an account of our performance to the same man set down at the right hand of the Father? He first took our nature to become our brother, that with so near a relation he might be made our Lord. If then the patriarchs did cheerfully live in the land of Goshen, subject to the power and command of Egypt, because that power was in the hand of Joseph their exalted brother; shall not we with all readiness of mind submit ourselves to the Divine dominion now given to him who gave himself for us? Shall all the angels worship him, and all the archangels bow down before him, and shall not we be proud to join with them?

Thirdly, The belief of Christ's dominion is necessary for the regulation of all power, authority, and dominion on earth, both in respect of those which rule, and in relation to those that obey. From hence the most absolute monarchs learn, that the people which they rule are not their own, but the subjects of a greater prince, by him committed to their charge. Upon this St. Paul doth ground his admonition to masters, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." (Col. iv. 1.) God gave a power to the Israelites to make hired servants of their brethren, but not slaves; and gives this reason of the interdiction, "For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen." (Lev. xxv. 42.) What tenderness then should be used towards those who are the servants of that Lord who redeemed them from a greater bondage, who bought them with a higher price? From hence those which are subject learn to obey the powers which are of human ordination, because in them they obey the Lord of all. Subjects bear the same proportion, and stand in the same relation to their governors, with servants to their masters: and St. Paul hath given them this charge, "Obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ." (Col. iii. 22—24.) Neither do we learn from hence only whom, but also how, to obey. For while we look upon one Lord in heaven, while we consider him as the "Lord of lords," we regulate our

obedience to them by our service due to him, and so are always ready to obey, but in the Lord.

Lastly, This title of our Saviour is of necessary belief for our comfort and encouragement. For being Lord of all, he is able to dispose of all things for the benefit of those which serve him. He who commanded the unconstant winds, and stilled the raging seas, he who multiplied the loaves and fishes, and created wine with the word of his mouth, hath all creatures now under exact obedience, and therefore none can want whom he undertaketh to provide for. "For the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." (Rom. x. 12.) Many are the enemies of those persons who dedicate themselves unto his service; but our enemies are his, and part of his dominion is therefore given him, and to continue in him until all his enemies be made his footstool. Great is the power of the lusts of our flesh, which war in our members; but his grace is sufficient for us, and the power of that Spirit by which he ruleth in us. Heavy are the afflictions which we are called to undergo for his sake: but if we suffer with him, we shall reign together with him: and blessed be that dominion which makes us all kings, that he may be for ever Lord of lords, and King of kings.

After this explication, every Christian may perceive what he is to believe in this part of the article, and express himself how he would be understood when he maketh this profession of his faith, I believe in *Christ our Lord*. For thereby we may and ought to intend thus much; I do assent unto this as a certain and infallible truth, taught me by God himself, that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, is the true Jehovah, who hath that being which is originally and eternally of itself, and on which all other beings do essentially depend: that by the right of emanation of all things from him, he hath an absolute, supreme, and universal dominion over all things as God: that as the Son of man he is invested with all power in heaven and earth: partly economical, for the completing our redemption, and the destruction of our enemies, to continue to the end of all things, and then to be resigned to the Father; partly consequent unto the union, or due unto the obedience of his passion, and so eternal, as belonging to that kingdom which shall have no end. And though he be thus Lord of all things by right of the first

creation and constant preservation of them, yet is he more peculiarly the Lord of us who by faith are consecrated to his service: for through the work of our redemption he becomes our Lord both by the right of conquest and of purchase; and making us the sons of God, and providing heavenly mansions for us, he acquires a farther right of promotion; which, considering the covenant we all make to serve him, is at last completed in the right of a voluntary obligation. And thus I believe in *Christ our Lord*.

ARTICLE III.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

THESE words, as they now stand, clearly distinguish the conception of Jesus from his nativity, attributing the first to the Holy Ghost, the second to the blessed Virgin: whereas the ancient Creeds made no such distinction; but without any particular express mention of the conception, had it only in this manner, *who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; or of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary*,* understanding by the word *born*, not only the na-

* Deum Judæi sic prædicant solum, ut negent filium ejus; negent simul cum eo unum esse, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Novatianus. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Rufinus in Symbolum, S. Aug. Ench. ad Laurent. c. 34. 37. et 38. Natus de Spiritu S. et Maria Virgine, as also the council of Francford in Sacrosyllabo. S. Aug. de Fide et Symb. Natus est per Spiritum S. ex Virgine Maria, Nonne de Spiritu S. et Virgine Maria Dei filius unicus natus est? S. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 15. Et paulo post, Quia natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine. S. Leo Epist. x. c. 2. Maximus Taurin. Chrysol. Etherius Utram. Author Symbol. ad Catechum. Qui natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine. So also Venantius Fortunatus: From whence Fulgentius de Fide ad Petrum Diaconum: Natum de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine in Symbolo acceptum, et corde ad justitiam credit, et ore ad salutem S. Ecclesia confitetur.

Item prædicandum est quomodo Filius Dei incarnatus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria semper Virgine. Capitul. Caroli 82. and Alcuinus l. iii. de Trinitat. c. 1. Dicitur in Symbolo Catholice fidei, quod Christus de Spiritu S. et ex Maria Virgine sit natus. In the ancient MS. transcribed by the learned Archbishop of Armagh, Τὸν γενόμενον ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. So Paulus Samosatensis in his fifth proposition; Ἰησοῦς ὁ γενόμενος ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. These, omitted in the Nicene Creed, were put in by the council of Constantinople, upon the occasion of the Apollinarian heresy, as was observed by Digenes bishop of Cysium in the council of Chalcedon; Οἱ γὰρ ἄγιοι πατέρες ἐκ πατρὸς ταύτης, τὸ ἐκ γενεῶν, ὁ ἄγιος ὁ ἄγιος ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρες, ἐκπληρώσαντες εὐαγγελίον, ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. In the several expositions among the sermons de Tempore, falsely attributed to St. Aug. Qui conceptus est de

tivity, but also the conception and generation. This is very necessary to be observed, because otherwise the addition of a word will prove the diminution of the sense of the article. For they which speak only of the operation of the Holy Ghost in Christ's conception, and of the manner of his birth, leave out most part of that which was anciently understood under that one term of being *born* of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary.

That therefore nothing may be omitted which is pertinent to express the full intent, and comprehend the utmost signification of this article, we shall consider three persons mentioned, so far as they are concerned in it. The first is he who was conceived and born; the second, he by whose energy or operation he was conceived; the third, she who did conceive and bear him.

For the first, the relative in the front of this carries us clearly back unto the former article, and tells us that he which was thus conceived and born was Jesus Christ, the only Son of God. And being we have already demonstrated that this only Son is therefore called so, because he was begotten by the Father from all eternity, and so of the same substance with him; it followeth that this article at the first beginning, or by virtue of its connexion, can import no less than this most certain, but miraculous truth, that he* which was begotten by the Father before all worlds, was now in the fulness of time *conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary*. Again, being by the conception and birth is to be understood whatsoever was done towards the production of the human nature of our Saviour: therefore the same relative considered with the words which follow, it can speak no less than the incarnation of that person. And thus even in the entry of the article we meet with the incarnation of the Son of God, that great mystery wrapt up in that short sentence of St. John, "the Word was made flesh."

Indeed the pronoun hath relation not only unto this, but to the following articles, which have their necessary connexion with and foundation in this third; for he who was *conceived*

Spiritu S. natus ex Virgine Maria. So Eusebius Gallioanus. *Homil. de Symbolo*. And from thence it hath so continued, as we now read it, *Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary*.

* Huic, quem dudum de Patre natum ineffabiliter didicisti, nunc a Spiritu S. templum fabricatum intra secreta uteri Virginalis intellige. Ruff.

and *born*, and so made man, did in that human nature suffer, die, and rise again. Now when we say this was the Word, and that Word was God, being whosoever is God cannot cease to be so; it must necessarily follow, that he was made man by joining the human nature with the Divine. But then we must take heed lest we conceive, because the Divine nature belongeth to the Father, to which the human is conjoined, that therefore the Father should be incarnate, or *conceived* and *born*. For as certainly as the Son was crucified, and the Son alone; so certainly the same Son was incarnate, and that Son alone. Although the human nature was conjoined with the Divinity, which is the nature common to the Father and the Son; yet was that union made only in the person of the Son. Which doctrine is to be observed against the heresy of the Patripassians,* which was both very

* The heresy of the Patripassians seems only to have relation to the suffering of our Saviour, because the word signifies no more than the passion of the Father. But it is founded in an error concerning the incarnation, it being out of question that he which was made man did suffer. Epiphanius observes, "Nœtus was the first which taught this heresy, who lived one hundred and thirty years before him, more or less, and when he was questioned for it, he denied it:" διὰ τὸ μὴ δύναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξμεῖσαι ταυτηνὴν τὴν πικρὴν. But certainly this heresy was ancienter than Nœtus; for the Patripassians are named by St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 73. and Tertulian his master chargeth it upon Praxeas: "Duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procaravit, Prophetiam expulit, et Hæresim intolit; Paraclætum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit." *Adv. Præx.* c. 1. And expressing the absurdity of that opinion; "Itaque post tempus Pater natus et Pater passus, ipse Deus Dominus Omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur," c. 2. And *De Præsc. adv. Hæret.* "Post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam Hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem Omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit; mortuum præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dextram suam, cum profana et sacrilega temeritate proponit," c. 53. After Praxeas, Nœtus taught the same. Ἐτόλμασι λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πασσοῦν, says Epiphanius: and being questioned for it, he answered, τι γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα; ἵνα θεὸν δοξάζω, ἵνα πιστευταί, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον πλὴν αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα, πεποιηθέντα, ἀποθανόντα. He thought

the Father and the Son to be the same person, and therefore if the Son, the Father to be incarnate. Ὑποπότερα τὸν Χριστὸν ἰδὶδαξέ, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. *Epiph. Anaceph.* After the Nœtiani followed the Sabelliani. So Philastrius: "Sabellius Discipulus ejus, qui similitudinem sui Doctoris itidem secutus est, unde et Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui et Patripassiani, et Praxeani a Praxeas, et Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in Africa, qui et ista sentientes abjecti sunt ab Ecclesia Catholica." So St. Aug. "Sabelliani dicti sunt quidam Hæretici, qui vocantur et Patripassiani, qui dicunt ipsum Patrem passum esse." *Tract.* 36. in *Joh.* This I confess is denied by Epiphanius, who acknowledged Sabellius to have followed Nœtus in many things, but not in the incarnation or passion of the Father. Σαβελλιανοὶ οἱ τὰ ὅμοια ἀνόητοις (i. ἀνόητοις, id est, Νοτιανοῖς, vel ἀνόητοις, id est, Νοτιῶ, as St. Aug. Novato) δοξάζοντες παρὰ τῷ το μόνον λέγουσι γὰρ μὴ πεποιθέναι τὸν πατέρα. This St. Augustin wonders very much at In Epiphanius: "Sabelliani, inquit, similia Nœto dogmatizantes, præter hoc quod dicunt Patrem non esse passum; quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi potest, cum sic innotuerint dicere Patrem passum, ut Patripassiani quam Sabelliani sæpius nuncuparentur?" *Aug. Hæc.* 41. Indeed, the Latin fathers generally call the Sabellians Patripassians; and not only so, but Theodoret doth so describe them as professing one person, ἓν μὲν τῇ παλαιᾷ ὡς πατέρα νομοθετῆσαι, ἢ διὰ τῇ καινῇ, ὡς υἱὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαι, l. ii. c. 9. After the Sabelliani succeeded in the same heresy the Pris-

ancient and far diffused, making the Father *to be* incarnate, and becoming man to be crucified. But this very Creed was always thought to be a sufficient confutation of that fond opinion,* in that the incarnation is not subjoined to the first, but to the second article; we do not say, I believe in God the Father Almighty, which was conceived, but *in his only Son, our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost.*

First then, We believe that he which was made flesh was the Word, that he which took upon him the nature of man was not the Father nor the Holy Ghost, nor any other person but the only-begotten Son. And when we say that person was *conceived* and *born*, we declare he was made really and truly man, of the same human nature which is in all other men, who by the ordinary way of generation are con-

cillianists, as appeareth by Pope Leo, who shews they taught but one person of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: "Quod blasphemiam genus de Sabellii opinione sumpserunt, cujus discipuli etiam Patripassiani merito nuncupantur; quia si ipse est Filius qui et Pater, crux Filii Patris est passio, et quicquid in forma servi Filius Patri obediendo sustinuit, totum in se Pater ipse suscepit." Ep. 95. c. 1. Thus the Patripassian heresy, beginning from Praxeas and Hermogenes, was continued by Noetus, Sabellius, and Priscillianus, and mingled with all their several heresies, the sum and substance of which is thus well set down by Victorinus; "Patripassiani Deum solum esse dicunt quem nos patrem dicimus; ipsum solum existentem et effectorem omnium, et venisse non solum in mundum, sed et in carnem, et alia omnia quæ nos Filium fecisse dicimus."

* It appeareth plainly that Tertullian confuted Praxeas, by reducing him to these words of the Creed. For when he had first declared, "Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus (which was the objection of Praxeas) sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *οικονομία* dicimus, ut uno Dei sit et Filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil." Then he subjoineth, "Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum hominem, et Deum, filium hominis, et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum, secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in oculos resumptum sedere ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos." And that we may be assured that he used these words out of

the Creed, it followeth, "Hanc Regulam ab initio Evangelii decurrisse, &c."

This is yet farther evident out of Epiphanius, who tells us the eastern doctors confuted Noetus in the same manner, by reducing him to the words of the Creed. "Ενα Θεόν δοξάζομεν καὶ αὐτοί, (just as Tertullian; "Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus") ἀλλ' ὡς οἰδαμεν δικαίως δοξάζειν καὶ ἵνα Χριστὸν ἔχημεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰδαμεν ἵνα Χριστὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ, παθόντα ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀποθνήσκοντα καθὼς ἀπέθανεν, ἀναστάντα, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐρχόμενον κεῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. And when the argument of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the Greeks against Noetus drawn from the Creed did not sufficiently convince the Patripassians, the church of Aquileia, to exclude them wholly, added these two words to the first article, *invisibilem, and impassibilem.* *Invisibilem*, to shew he was not incarnate; *impassibilem*, to shew he was not crucified. So Rufinus in the conclusion of his exposition upon these words, "Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem," addeth, "His additur invisibilem et impassibilem;" and then gives the reason, "Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos Hæreseos causâ Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris Patripassiana appellatur, id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex Virgine natum dicit, et visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas de Patre, videntur hæc addidisse majores, et invisibilem Patrem atque impassibilem dixisse. Constat enim Filium, non Patrem, in carne et ex carne natum, et ex nativitate carnis Filium visibilem et passibilem factum."

ceived and born. For the "Mediator between God and man is the man Christ Jesus:" (1 Tim. ii. 5.) that since "by man came death, by man also should come the resurrection of the dead." (1 Cor. xv. 21.) As sure then as the first Adam and we who are redeemed are men, so certainly is the second Adam and our Mediator man. He is therefore frequently called the "Son of man," and in that nature he was always promised. First "to Eve," (Gen. iii. 15.) as her seed, and consequently her son. Then to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" (Gen. xxii. 18.) and that "seed is Christ," (Gal. iii. 16.) and so the son of Abraham. Next to David, as his "son to sit upon his throne;" and so he is "made of the seed of David according to the flesh—the son of David, the son of Abraham," (Rom. i. 3. Matt. i. i.) and consequently of the same nature with David and with Abraham. And as he was their son, so are we his brethren, as descending from the same father Adam; "and therefore it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren." (Heb. ii. 17, 16.) For he "laid not hold on the angels, but on the seed of Abraham." And so became not an angel, but a man.

As then man consisteth of two different parts, body and soul, so doth Christ: he assumed a body at his conception, of the blessed Virgin. "Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same." (Heb. ii. 14.) The verity of his body stands upon the truth of his nativity;* and the actions and passions of his life shew the nature of his flesh.

He was first born with a *body* which was *prepared for him*, of the same appearance with those of other infants; he grew up by degrees, and was so far from being sustained without the accustomed nutrition of our bodies, that he was observed even by his enemies to come "eating and drinking," and when he did not so, he suffered hunger and thirst. Those ploughers never doubted of the true nature of his flesh, who "ploughed upon his back and made long furrows." The thorns which pricked his sacred temples, the nails which penetrated through his hands and feet, the spear which pierced his sacred side, give sufficient testimony of the natural ten-

* Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem, aut, ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem: sci- licet, ne invicem sibi testimonium redde- rent et responderent nativitas et caro; quia nec nativitas sine carne nec caro sine nativitate. *Tertul. de Carne Christi.*

derness and frailty of his flesh. And lest his fasting forty days together, lest his walking on the waters and traversing the seas, lest his sudden standing in the midst of his disciples when the doors were shut, should raise an opinion that his body was not true and proper flesh; he confirmed first his own disciples, feel and see, that a "spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me to have." (Luke xxiv. 39.) As therefore we believe the coming of Christ, so must we confess him to have come in the verity of our human nature, even in true and proper flesh. With this determinate expression was it always necessary to acknowledge him: for "every spirit that confesseth Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is not of God." (1 John iv. 2, 3.) This spirit appeared early in opposition to the apostolical doctrine; and Christ, who is both God and man, was as soon denied to be man as God. Simon Magus,* the arch-heretic, first began, and many after followed him.

And certainly, if the Son of God would vouchsafe to take the frailty of our flesh, he would not omit the nobler part, our soul, without which he could not be man. For "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature;" (Luke ii. 52.) one in respect of his body, the other of his soul. Wisdom belongeth not to the flesh, nor can the knowledge of God, which is infinite, increase: he then whose knowledge did improve together with his years must have a subject proper for it, which was no other than a human soul. This was the seat of his finite understanding and directed will, distinct from the will of his Father, and consequently of his Divine nature; as appeareth by that known submission, "Not my will, but thine be done." (Luke xxii. 42.) This was the subject of those affections and passions which so manifestly appeared in him: nor spake he any other than a proper language, when

* Simon Magus first made himself to be Christ; and what he feigned of himself, that was attributed by others unto Christ. "Dixerat se in monte Sina Legem Mosi in Patris persona dedisse Judæis, tempore Tiberii in Filii persona putative apparuisse." S. Aug. So St. Cyril represents him, *οὐκ ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλὰ δοκῶσι, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν φαίνεταί*. Catech. 6. From this *δοκῶσι* of his invention arose the heresy of the *Δοκῆται*. For Saturnilus or Saturninus followed his disciple Menander with his "putative tantum hominem,"

as Irenæus; and in "phantasmate tantum venisse," as Tertullian speaks. After him Valentinus and his followers, Epiphanius, Isidorus, and Secundus; then the Marcionians, Heracleonitæ and Ophitæ, Cerdon, Marcion, Lucanus, and generally the Manichees. Those were the *Δοκῆται* or *φαντασιασταί*, all conspiring in this, that Christ was not really what he appeared, nor did truly suffer what he seemed to endure. This early heresy appeareth by the opposition which St. Ignatius made unto it in his epistles.

before his suffering he said, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." (Matt. xxvi. 38.) This was it which on the cross, before the departure from the body, he recommended to the Father: teaching us in whose hands the souls of the departed are: for "when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the ghost." (Luke xxiii. 46.) And as his death was nothing else but the separation of the soul from his body; so the life of Christ as man did consist in the conjunction and vital union of that soul with the body. So that he which was *perfect God, was also perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting*. Which is to be observed and asserted against the ancient heretics,* who taught that Christ assumed human flesh, but that the Word or his Divinity was unto that body in the place of an informing soul.

Thus the whole perfect and complete nature of man was assumed by the Word,† by him who was *conceived and born*

* Of this kind two several sects were most remarkable, the Arians and the Apollinarians. Arius taught that Christ had nothing of man but the flesh, and with that the Word was joined. "Ἀρείος δὲ σάρακα μόνον πρὸς ἀποκρυφὴν τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογεῖ· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθῆναι ἐν ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπου ταυτίσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λαβεῖν γεγονέναι. Athan. de Adv. Christi. So Felicianus the Arian, in Vigiliis de Unitate Trin. c. 17. "Ita enim a majoribus nostris semper est traditum, quod Christi corpus ad vicem animæ communis ipsius Filii Dei habitus animârit; nec accessione animalis spiritus indigens fuerit, cui inhabitans fons vitæ potuit conferre quod vixit." Euanomius followed him in this particular: "Ἀρείος δὲ καὶ Εὐνόμιος σῶμα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν εἰληφέναι, θεότατα δὲ ψυχῆς ἐμπιπνέειν τὴν χρεῖαν. Theod. l. v. cont. Hær. c. 11. Apollinaris distinguished between the soul and the mind, the ψυχὴ and the νοῦς, and acknowledged that the Word assumed the body and the soul, or ψυχὴ of man, but not the mind or spirit, or the νοῦς, but the Word itself was in the place of that. "Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi ab Ecclesia Catholica dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In quæstione testimoniis Evangelicis victi, mentem, qua rationalis est anima hominis, non fuisse in anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsam verbum in ea fuisse, dixerunt." This was then the clear

difference between the Arian and Apollinarian heresy: "Apollinaristas quidem carnis et animæ naturam sine mente assumpsisse Deum credunt, Ariani vero carnis tantummodo." Facundus, l. ix. So that two things are to be observed in the Apollinarians, their philosophy and their divinity: their philosophy, in making man consist of three distinct parts, the body, the soul, and the mind; their divinity, in making the human nature of Christ to consist but of two, the body and the soul, and the third to be supplied by the Word. Which is excellently expressed by Nemesius de Nat. Hom. in respect of his philosophy: Τινες μὲν, ὡς ἰστέλι καὶ Πλωτῖνος, ἄλλην εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν νοῦν δογματίσαντες, ἐν τριῶν τὸν ἀνθρώπου συνιστάναι δοῦλονται, σώματος, καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ νοῦ. Οἱς ἠκολούθησε καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος ὁ τῆς Λαοικειᾶς γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος· τοῦτον γὰρ σπεζόμενος τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς οἰκίας δόξης, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσωκοδόμησε κατὰ τὸ οἰκίον δόγμα. And by Theodoret in respect of his Divinity: Σαρκοθῆναι δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἔφησε λόγον, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνελήφοντα οὐ τὴν λογικὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰσθητὴν, ἣν φυσικὴν, ἥγουσι ζωτικὴν, τινὲς ὑπομάζουσι. τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ἔφησεν ἀνελήφθαι, ἀλλ' ἄρκεσαι τὴν θείαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν.

† Quid a Patre Christus acceperat, nisi quod et induerat? hominem sine dubio carnis animæque texturam. Tertul. de Resur. carn. c. 34. Hoc tuto credente

of a woman, and so made a man. And being the Divine nature which he had before could never cease to be what before it was, nor ever become what before it was not; therefore he who was God before by the Divine nature which he had, was in this incarnation made man by that human nature which he then assumed; and so really and truly was both God and man.* And thus the third article from the conjunction with the second, teacheth us no less than the two natures really distinct in Christ incarnate.

For if both natures were not preserved complete and distinct in Christ, it must be either by the conversion and transubstantiation of one into the other, or by commixtion and confusion of both into one. But neither of these ways can consist with the person of our Saviour, or the office of our Mediator. For if we should conceive such a mixtion and confusion of substances as to make a union of natures, we should be so far from acknowledging him to be both God and man, that thereby we should profess him to be neither God nor man, but a person of a nature as different from both, as all mixed bodies are distinct from each element which concurs unto their composition. Besides, we know there were in Christ the affections proper to the nature of man, and all those infirmities which belong to us, and cannot be conceived to belong to that nature of which the Divine was but a part. Nor could our humanity be so commixed or confounded with the Divinity of our Saviour, but that the Father had been made man as much as the Son, because the Divine nature is the same both of the Father and the Son. Nor ought we to have so low an esteem of that infinite and independent being,† as to think it so commixed with or immersed in the creature.

Again, as the confusion, so the conversion of natures is impossible. For first, we cannot with the least show of probability conceive the Divine nature of Christ to be transubstantiated into the human nature; as those whom they call

jam mundo, puto quod et Dæmones constituantur Filium Dei natum de Maria Virgine, et carnem naturæ humanæ atque animam suscepisse. *S. Hier. Apol. 2. advers. Ruffinum.*

* Νῦν δὲ ἐκτεφάνη ἀπορώσους αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ἐ λόγος ὁ μόνος ἄμωρος, Θεὸς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος. *Cl. Alexand. adv. Gent.*

† Absit ita credere, ut consilii quodam genere duas naturas in unam arbitre-

mur redactas esse substantiam: hujusmodi enim commixtio partis utriusque eorruptio est. Deus enim qui capax est, non capabilis, penetrans, non penetrabilis, implens, non implebilis, qui ubique simul totus, et ubique diffusus est per infusionem potentiae suæ, misericorditer naturæ mixtus est humanæ; non humana natura naturæ est mixta Divinæ. *Leporius Libel. Emend.*

Flandrian anabaptists* in the Low-Countries at this day maintain. There is a plain repugnancy even in the supposition; for the nature of man must be made, the nature of God cannot be made, and consequently cannot become the nature of man. The immaterial, indivisible, and immortal Godhead cannot be divided into a spiritual and incorruptible soul, and a carnal and corruptible body; of which two humanity consisteth. There is no other Deity of the Father than of the Son; and therefore if this was converted into that humanity, then was the Father also that man, and grew in knowledge, suffered and died. We must not therefore so far stand upon the propriety of speech, when it is written, "The Word was made flesh," as to destroy the propriety both of the Word and of the flesh.†

Secondly, We must not, on the contrary, invent a conversion of the human nature into the Divine, as the Eutychians of old did fancy. For sure the incarnation could not at first consist in such a conversion, it being unimaginable how that which had no being should be made by being turned into something else. Therefore the humanity of Christ could not at the first be made by being the Divinity of the Word. Nor is the incarnation so preposterously expressed, as if the flesh were made the Word, but that the Word was made flesh. And if the manhood were not in the first act of incarnation con-

* Teste Episcopio, Instit. Theol. l. iv. p. 8.

† In that proposition, ὁ λόγος σὰντ ἐγένετο, there hath been strange force used by men of contrary judgments, and for contrary ends, as to the word ἐγένετο. The Socinians endeavouring to prove it can have no other sense than simply *fuit*, the Word was flesh: the Flandrian anabaptists stretching it to the highest sense of *factum est*, the Word was made flesh. It is confessed that the verb γίνεσθαι in the use of the Greek language is capable of either interpretation: it is also acknowledged that the most ancient interpreters were divided in their renditions.

For the Syriac rendered it כְּמִלְתָּא בְּכָרָא דִּנְא Et *verbum caro fuit*; the ancient Latin, *Et verbum caro factum est*. It cannot be denied but in the Scriptures it hath been used indifferently in either sense. And the same old vulgar translation in some places renders it, as the Syriac doth here, Matt. x. 16. γίνεσθαι ὡς φερίμων ὡς οἱ ὄφεις, *Estote ergo pruden-*

tes sicut serpentes; and 25. Ἀκούετε τὸ πρῶτον ἵνα γίνεσθαι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ, *Sufficiat discipulo ut sit sicut magister ejus*. From whence it is evident that they placed not the force in the signification of the word γίνεσθαι, but in the circumstance of the matter in which it was used. Howsoever, neither of these interpretations prove either of these opinions. For if it be acknowledged that the Word was flesh, and it hath been already proved and presupposed by St. John in his precedent discourse, that the Word had a former being antecedent to his being flesh; it followeth, that he which was before the Word, and was not flesh, if after he were flesh, must be made such. And so the Socinian observation falls. Again, if he which was made flesh was the Word, and after he was made such was still the Word, as certainly he was, and is still the same; then his being made or becoming flesh can no way evacuate that nature, in which he did before subsist. And so the Flandrian interpretation is of no validity.

verted into the Divine nature, as we see it could not be; then is there no pretence of any time or manner, in or by which it was afterward so transubstantiated.* Vain therefore was that old conceit of Eutyches, who thought the union to be made so in the natures, that the humanity was absorbed and wholly turned into the Divinity, so that by that transubstantiation the human nature had no longer being. And well did the ancient fathers, who opposed this heresy, make use of the sacramental union between the bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ, and thereby shewed, that the human nature of Christ is no more really converted into the Divinity, and so ceaseth to be the human nature, than the substance of the bread and wine is really converted into the substance of the body and blood, and thereby ceaseth to be both bread and wine. From whence it is by the way observable, that the church in those days understood no such doctrine as that of transubstantiation.†

* This was the proper opinion of Eutyches, as appeareth by his own confession in the council of Chalcedon. *Ὁμολογῶ ἐν δὴ οὐσίᾳ γεννηθεῖσαι τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ. Act. 1.* Two distinct natures he confessed at first, but when the union was once made, he acknowledged but one. But when that union was made he expressed not, nor could his followers agree; some attributing it to the conception, some to the resurrection, others to the ascension. Howsoever, when they were united, his opinion clearly was, that the human nature was so absorbed into the Divine, so wholly made the same, that it ceased wholly to be what it was, and so there was but one, that is, the Divine, nature remained. This is sufficiently expressed by S. Leo, who was the strongest opposer of him, and speaketh thus of his opinion, *Serm. 8. de Nativ.* “*Hic autem recentioris sacrilegii profanus assertor unionem quidem in Christo duarum confessus est naturarum; sed ipsa unione id dixit effectum, ut ex duabus una remaneret, nullatenus alterius existente substantia.*” And the Eranistes in the dialogue of Theodoret arguing for that opinion, being urged to declare whether in that union one nature was made of them both, or one remaining, the other did not so, answered plainly, *Ἐγὼ τὴν διότιτα λέγω μεμνημέναι, καταπόθῃαι δὲ ὑπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.*

† There can be no time in which we may observe the doctrine of the ancients

so clearly, as when they write professedly against a heresy evidently known, and make use generally of the same arguments against it. Now what the heresy of Eutyches was, is certainly known, and the nature of the sacrament was generally made use of as an argument to confute it. Gelasius bishop of Rome hath written an excellent book against Eutyches, de duabus naturis in Christo, in which he propoundeth their opinion thus: “*Eutychiani dicunt unam esse naturam, id est, Divinam;*” and “*sola existente Deitate, Humanitas illis esse jam destitit.*” That then which he disputes against is the transubstantiation of the human nature into the Divine. The argument which he makes use of against it is drawn from the eucharist: “*Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi Divina res est, propter quod et per eadem Divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ: et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura Panis et Vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis de ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumimus, ut sicut in hanc, scilicet, in Divinam, transeant, S. Spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanentes tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ: sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, ejus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, anum Christum, quia integrum verumque, permanere de-*

Being then he which is *conceived* was the *only Son of God*, and that *only Son* begotten of the substance of the Father, and so always subsisted in the Divine nature ; being by the same conception he was made truly man, and consequently assumed a human nature ; being these two natures cannot be made one either by commixtion or conversion, and yet there can be but one Christ subsisting in them both, because that *only Son* was he which is conceived and born : it followeth, that the union which was not made in the nature, was made in the person of the Word ; that is, it was not so made, that out of both natures one only should result, but only so, that to one person no other should be added.

Nor is this union only a scholastic speculation, but a certain and necessary truth, without which we cannot have one

monstrant." In which words it is plain he affirms the union of the human nature of Christ to be the principal mystery, the representation of that mystery to be in the sacrament of the eucharist : he concludes from thence, that as in the representation the substance of the bread and wine remaineth in the propriety of their own nature, so the human nature of Christ in the greater mystery doth still remain. In the margin of this place in the Bibliotheca Patrum there is printed *Coute*, as if there could be any danger in observing the sense of the fathers, when they speak so expressly and considerably. In the same manner we find a disputation between a heretic and a catholic in the second dialogue of Theodoret, where Eranistes, as a heretic, asks Orthodoxus by what names he calls the bread and wine after consecration ; who answers, The body and blood of Christ : from whence Eranistes argues, "Ὡςπερ τοῖνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ιερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπικλησὶν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνονται οὗτω δὲ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν μεταβλήθη τὴν οὐρανόν. As the symbols of the body and blood of Christ are one thing before consecration, and after that change their name, and become another ; so the body of Christ after his ascension is changed into the Divine substance. To this Orthodoxus answers, 'Εάλως αἱς ὑφῆες ἀρκεσιν, You are taken in your own nets. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἀναστροφὴν τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα τῆς οὐκίας ἐξίσταται φύσις, μῖνον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς σφετέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἔστι καὶ ἀπτά, οἷα καὶ σφετέρῃ ἢν. The bread and wine even after consecration leave not their

own nature, but remain in their former substance, shape, and form. In the same manner, καὶ ταῖνο τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδος ἔχει καὶ σχῆμα καὶ περιγραφὴν, καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς εἰσὶν, τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν. The body of Christ hath the same form, figure, and shape, and indeed the same bodily substance. And when Eranistes still objects, that the bread is called the body, and not bread ; Orthodoxus answers that he is mistaken ; Οὐ γὰρ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἶτος ζωῆς ὀνομάζεται, οὕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος προσηγόρευσε, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ σῶμα θεῖον ὀνομάζομεν σῶμα. For it is not only called the body, but also bread of life, and the body itself we call the Divine body. Who sees not then, that Theodoret believed no more that the bread is converted into the body, than that the body is converted into the Divinity of Christ ? Who perceives not that he thought the bread to be as substantially and really bread after the consecration, as the body of Christ is really a body after his ascension ? The same argument is used by St. Chrysostom upon the same occasion against the Apollinarians in his epistle ad Cæsarium, not yet published in Greek, and by Ephraïmus in Photii Bibliotheca against the Eutychians. As therefore all the μεταστροφῆς of the sacramental elements maketh them not cease to be of the same nature which before they were ; so the human nature of Christ joined to the Divine, loseth not the nature of humanity, but continueth with the Divinity as a substance in itself distinct ; and so Christ doth subsist not only *ex*, but in *duabus naturis*, as the council of Chalcedon determined against Eutyches.

Christ, but two Christs, one Mediator, but two Mediators; without which we cannot join the second article of our CREED with the third, making them equally belong to the same person; without which we cannot interpret the sacred Scriptures, or understand the history of our Saviour. For certainly he which was before Abraham, was in the days of Herod born of a woman; he which preached in the days of Noah, began to preach in the days of Tiberius, being at that time about thirty years of age; he was demonstrated the Son of God with power, who was the seed of David according to the flesh; he who died on the cross, raised him from the dead who died so, being "put to death through the flesh, and quickened by the Spirit;" (1 Pet. iii. 18.) he was of the fathers according to the flesh, who was "God over all blessed for ever." (Rom. ix. 5.) Being these and the like actions and affections cannot come from the same nature, and yet must be attributed to the same person; as we must acknowledge a diversity of natures united, so must we confess the identity of the person in whom they are conjoined, against the ancient heresy of the Nestorians,* condemned in the council of Ephesus.

* This heresy doth most formally contradict these words of the Creed, because it immediately denies this truth, that the eternal Son of God was conceived and born. And in vain did Nestorius seek not only to avoid it in the Nicene Creed, but to make use of the words of the Creed even against the unity of the person of Christ. St. Cyril had well objected the series, order and consequence of that confession: "Εφη ἡ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη Σύνοδος, αὐτὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς κατὰ φύσιν υἱὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθινόν, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτός, τὸν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πτωίστηεν ὁ Πατήρ, κατελθεῖν, σαρκωθῆναι τε καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαι, παθεῖν, ἀναστῆναι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀναλθεῖν εἰς οὐρανούς. The strength of this objection lies in this, that Christ, the only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all worlds, was incarnate. The answer of Nestorius was in this manner: Πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενῆ σκώπησαν ὅπως Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς, καὶ μονογενὴς, καὶ υἱός, πρότερον ὄντας, τὰ κοινὰ τῆς θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ὡς θεμελίους, ὀρθήματα, τότε τὸν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως, καὶ τοῦ πάθους, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἐκωκυδοῦμεν παραδοῖν. And the strength, or rather the weakness, thereof is this: that first the council placed the names of Jesus, Christ, and the

only-begotten Son, names common to the Divinity and humanity of Christ: and then upon them built the doctrine of his incarnation. Whereas it is evident that, supposing the *only-begotten* a term common to the humanity and Divinity, yet the council clearly expounds it of the eternal generation, adding immediately, *begotten of his Father before all worlds*; neither is there any word between that exposition and the incarnation, but such as speak wholly of Christ as God. Therefore that only-begotten Son, who was begotten of his Father before all worlds, descended from heaven, and was incarnate. Thus St. Cyril in his second epistle to Nestorius, and Nestorius in his second to him. Which mistake of his seems yet more strange to me, when I consider in the same epistle of Nestorius that fundamental truth asserted, which of itself sufficiently, nay, fully confutes his heresy: for he acknowledgeth the name of Christ to be *θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἐν μοναδικῇ προσώπῳ προσηγορίαν σημαίνουσιν*, and, consequently, Christ himself to be a single person in a double nature, possible and impossible: which once granted, it evidently followeth, that he which was born from eternity, was also born in time, for by those several natures he had those

By the Holy Ghost.

HAVING thus dispatched the consideration of the first Person concerned in this article, and the actions contained in it so far as distinctly from the rest they belong to him, we descend unto the other two concerned in the same; and first to him whose operation did precede in the conception, the Holy Ghost. Which second part some may think to require a threefold consideration; first, of the conception; secondly, of the person; thirdly, of the operation. But for the person or existence of the Holy Ghost, that is here only mentioned obliquely, and therefore to be reserved for another article, where it is propounded directly. And for the conception itself, that belongeth not so properly to the Holy Ghost, of whom the act cannot be predicated. For though Christ *was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, yet the Holy Ghost did not conceive him, but said unto the Virgin, "Thou shalt conceive." (Luke i. 31.) There remaineth therefore nothing proper and peculiar to this second part, but that operation of the Holy Ghost in Christ's conception, whereby the Virgin was enabled to conceive, and by virtue whereof Christ is said to be *conceived by him*.

For the first of these, we may take notice in the salutation of the angel, when he told the blessed Virgin she should conceive and bring forth a son, she said, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" (Luke i. 34.) By which words she excludeth first all men, and then herself: all men, by that assertion, "I know not a man;" herself, by the question, How shall this be, seeing it is so? First, our Melchizedeck had no father on earth, in general; not any man, in particular not Joseph. It is true, "his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph:" but it is as true, "before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost." (Matth. i. 18.) We read in St. Luke, (ii. 27.) that "the parents brought up the child Jesus into the temple:" but these pa-

several natures; that he which was impassible as God, might, and did suffer as man, because the same person was of an impassible and a passible nature; impassible as God, passible as man. Wherefore by that which Nestorius hath confessed, and notwithstanding that which he hath objected, it is evident out of the

Nicene Creed, that the Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, was incarnate and made man; and as evident out of the Apostles' Creed, especially expounded by the Nicene, that the same only-begotten Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.

rents were not the father and the mother, but as it followeth, "Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him." (ver. 33.) It is true, Philip calleth him "Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph;" (John i. 45.) and which is more, his mother said unto him, "Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing:" (Luke ii. 48.) but this must be only the reputed father of Christ, he being only, "as was supposed, the son of Joseph, which was the son of Eli." (Luke iii. 23.) Whence they must needs appear without all excuse, who therefore affirm our Saviour to have been the proper son of Joseph, because the genealogy belongs to him; whereas in that very place where the genealogy begins, Joseph is called the supposed father. How can it then therefore be necessary Christ should be the true son of Joseph, that he may be known to be the son of David, when in the same place where it is proved that Joseph came from David, it is denied that Christ came from Joseph? And that not only in St. Luke, where Joseph begins, but also in St. Matthew, where he ends the genealogy. "Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ."* Howsoever then the genealogies are described, whether one belong to Joseph, the other to Mary, or both to Joseph, it is from other parts of the Scriptures infallibly certain, not only that Christ descended lineally from David according to the flesh, but also that the same Christ was begotten of the Virgin Mary, and not by Joseph.

Secondly, As the blessed Virgin excluded all mankind, and particularly Joseph, to whom she was then espoused, by her assertion; so did she exclude herself by the manner of the question, shewing that of herself she could not cause any such conception. Although she may be thought the "root of Jesse," yet could she not germinate of herself; though Eve were the mother of all living, yet generation was founded on the Divine benediction which was given to both together: for "God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." (Gen. i. 28.) Though Christ was promised as the "seed of the woman," yet we must not imagine that it was in the power of woman to conceive him. When the Virgin thinks it impossi-

* Matth. i. 16. Indeed in our translation, whom may relate to both, as well as Mary; Τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ὁ υἱός, and to Joseph as well as Mary; but ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς.

ble she should conceive because she knew not a man, at the same time she confesseth it otherwise as impossible, and the angel acknowledgeth as much in the satisfaction of his answer, "For with God nothing shall be impossible." (Luke i. 37.) God then it was who immediately and miraculously enabled the blessed Virgin to conceive our Saviour; and while Mary, Joseph, and all men are denied, no person which is that God can be excluded from that operation.

But what is included in the conception by the Holy Ghost, or how his operation is to be distinguished from the conception of the Virgin, is not so easily determined. The words by which it is expressed in Scripture are very general: first, as they are delivered by way of promise, prediction, or satisfaction to Mary; "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee:" (Luke i. 35.) Secondly, as they suppose the conception already past: "When his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost:" and give satisfaction unto Joseph, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost:" Now being the expressions in the Scriptures are so general, that from thence the operation of the Spirit cannot precisely be distinguished from the concurrence of the Virgin; much less shall we be able exactly to conclude it by that late distinction made in this article, *conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin*; because it is certain that the same Virgin also conceived him according to the prophecy, "Thou shalt conceive and bear a son:" and therefore notwithstanding that distinction, the difficulty still remains, how he was conceived by the Spirit, how by the Virgin. Neither will any difference of prepositions* be sufficient rightly to distinguish these operations.

* *As conceptus de Spiritu S. natus ex Maria Virgine.* St. Augustin indeed hath delivered a distinction between *de* and *ex*, after this manner, speaking to those words of the apostle, "Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, sunt omnia. Ex ipso non hoc significat quod ex ipso. Quod enim de ipso est, potest dici ex ipso; non autem omne quod ex ipso est, recte dicitur de ipso. Ex ipso enim cælum et terra, quia ipse fecit ea; non autem de ipso, quia non de substantia sua. Sicut aliquis homo si gignat filium, et faciat domum, ex ipso filius, ex ipso domus; sed

filius de ipso, sicut domus de terra et ligno." *De Nat. Boni adv. Manich.* c. 27. This distinction having no foundation in the Latin tongue, is ill made use of for the illustration of this article, because in the Greek language of the Testament there is no such diversity of prepositions, for as we read of Mary, *ἐξ ἧς γενήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, so also of the Holy Ghost, *ἐνέθη ἐν γαστρὶ Ἰχνοῦα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*, and *τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*. It is therefore said as well *ἐκ πνεύματος*, as *ἐν Πνεύματι*. Again, the vulgar observeth no such difference, as rendering for the one,

Wherefore there is no other way to bound or determine the action of the Holy Ghost, but by that concurrence of the Virgin which must be acknowledged with it. For if she were truly the mother of Christ (as certainly she was, and we shall hereafter prove), then is there no reason to deny to her in respect of him whatsoever is given to other mothers in relation to the fruit of their womb; and, consequently, no more is left to be attributed to the Spirit, than what is necessary to cause the Virgin to perform the actions of a mother. When the Scripture speaketh of regeneration, or the second birth, it denieth all which belongeth to natura procreation, describing the sons of God as begotten "not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God:" (John i. 13.) and in the incarnation of our Saviour, we remove all will or lust of the flesh, we deny all will of man concurring; but as the *blood* in the language of the Hebrews did signify that substance of which the flesh was formed in the womb, so we acknowledge in the generation of Jesus Christ, that he was made of the substance of his mother.

*de quo natus est Jesus, and for the other, in utero habens de Spiritu S. Correspondently in the Greek Creeds, συλληφέντα ἐκ πατρὸς, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας, or as in the Nicene, ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ Μαρίας. And the Latin not only de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine, but sometimes de Spiritu S. et Maria Virgine, and de Maria Virgine, Chrysostom and St. Augustin offend Trinitate. Wherefore in vain have the schools first accepted of St. Augustin's distinction, and then applied it to Christ's conception; first taking the preposition *de* to signify no less than a procession from the substance of the cause, and then acknowledge Christ so begotten of the Holy Ghost, because the eternal Son who was so begotten was of the same substance with the Holy Ghost. Thus Thomas Aquinas has delivered the subtilty, *Sum. p. 3. q. 32. a. 2. "In Spiritu S. duplex habitudo consideratur respectu Christi. Nam ad ipsum filium Dei, qui dicitur esse conceptus, habet habitudinem consubstantialitatis; ad corpus autem ejus habet habitudinem causæ efficientis. Hæc autem præpositio de utramque habitudinem designat, sicut etiam dicimus hominem aliquem esse de suo patre. Et ideo convenienter dicere possumus Christum esse conceptum de Spiritu S. hoc modo, quod efficientia Sp. S. referatur ad corpus assumptum, consubstantialitas vero ad personam assu-**

mentem." But this distinction of consubstantiality and effective causality can make nothing for the propriety of the phrase; for the preposition *de* signifieth the material cause as well as the efficient, it must do so in respect of that which is the effect, if it require that the thing which is made be made of the substance of that *de quo est*: then must Christ, according unto that which is made, be made of the substance of the Holy Ghost; or, to speak in the words of the Scripture, "Quod in eamatum est, de Spiritu Sancto est." Where either that which was conceived in the Virgin must be acknowledged of the substance of the Holy Ghost, or else the preposition *de* must not be taken in St. Augustin's sense. However, being there is but one preposition *ex*, common to both in the original Greek; being the vulgar translation useth *de* indifferently for either; being where they have distinguished *de* and *ex*, they have attributed *ex*, which doth not signify consubstantiality, to the Virgin, of whom they confess he did assume the substance of his body, and *de*, which signifieth (as they say) consubstantiality to the Holy Ghost, of whose substance he received nothing: it followeth, that the difference in the prepositions can no way declare the different concurrence of the Spirit and the Virgin in Christ's conception.

But as he was so made of the substance of the Virgin, so was he not made of the substance of the Holy Ghost, whose essence cannot at all be made. And because the Holy Ghost did not beget him by any communication of his essence, therefore he is not the father of him, though he were conceived by him. And if at any time I have said, Christ was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, if the ancients speak as if he generated* the Son, it is not so to be understood, as if the Spirit did perform any proper act of generation, such as is the foundation of paternity.

Again, as the Holy Ghost did not frame the human nature of Christ out of his own substance; so must we not believe that he formed any part of his flesh of any other substance than of the Virgin. For certainly he was of the fathers according to the flesh, and was as to that truly and totally the son of David and Abraham. The Socinians, who will acknowledge no other way before Christ's conception by which he could be the only-begotten Son of God, have been forced to invent a strange conjunction in the nature of Christ: one part received from the Virgin, and so consequently from David and from Abraham, from whom that Virgin did descend; another framed by the Spirit,† and conjoined with

* As Chrysologus, *Serm.* 57. Ubi Spiritus generat, Virgo parturit, totum divinum geritur, nihil humanum. Et *Serm.* 62. Stopenti mundo solus aperi quid est, quod Spiritus generat, Virgo concipit, Virgo parit.

† Deus ipsemet ad sanguinem Mariæ addidit aliam materiam, ex quibus deinde Christus conceptus et natus est. *Smalcus, De Vero et Naturali Dei Filio*, c. 2. Verum manet generationem et hanc dici posse, quatenus in Deum ea cadere potest, si ad sanguinem Mariæ addita sit ex parte Dei materia, ex qua cum sanguine Mariæ juncta natus sit Christus. *Ib.* c. 3. What this was thus added to the substance of the Virgin, he elsewhere explains: "Nos Dei virtutem in Virginis utero aliquam substantiam creatam vel immisisse aut ibi creasse affirmamus, ex qua, juncto eo quod ex ipsius Virginis substantia accessit, verus homo generatus fuit." This he doth not only without any authority affirm, but ground upon it the sonship of Christ. For so it follows: "Alias enim homo ille Dei filius a conceptione et nativitate proprie non fuisset." And again, "Necessitas magna fuit at Christus ab initio vitæ suæ esset Dei Filius, qualis faturus non fuisset,

nisi Dei virtute aliquid creatum fuisset quod ad constituendum Christi corpus una cum Mariæ sanguine concurreret." Thus while they deny the eternal generation of the Son, they establish a temporal in such manner as is not consonant with that word which they pretend wholly to follow, and have made a body of Christ partly descending from the Father, partly not: and whereas as man he is like to us in all things, sin only excepted: they have invented a body, partly like ours, partly not, and so in no part totally like. Indeed some of the ancients did speak so as to make the Holy Ghost the *semen Dei*: as Tertullian; "Ergo jam Dei filius ex Patris Dei semine, i. e. Spiritu, ut esset hominis filius, caro ei sola erat ex hominis carne sumenda sine viri semine. Vae enim viri semen apud habentem Dei semen." *De car. Christ.* c. 18. And St. Hilary calls it "Sementivam ineuntis Spiritus efficaciam," *l. 2. de Trin.* But in this they only understood the operation of the Spirit, *loco seminis*. And whosoever spake of any proper *semen*, they abhorred; as appears by the 191. Sermon de Tempore, "nec ut quidam sceleratissimi opinantur, Spiritum S. dicimus pro se-

it; by the one part of which humanity he was the son of man, as by the other part he was the Son of God.

The belief of this is necessary to prevent all fear or suspicion of spot in this Lamb, of sin in this Jesus. Whatsoever our original corruption is, however displeasing unto God, we may be from hence assured there was none in him, in whom alone God hath declared himself to be well pleased. "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" saith Job; a clean and undefiled Redeemer out of an unclean and defiled nature? He whose name is Holiness, whose operation is to sanctify, the Holy Ghost. Our Jesus was like unto us in all things as born of a woman, sin only excepted, as *conceived by the Holy Ghost*. This original and total sanctification of the human nature was first necessary, to fit it for the personal union with the Word, who, out of his infinite love, humbled himself to become flesh, and at the same time, out of his infinite purity, could not defile himself by becoming sinful flesh. Secondly, The same sanctification was as necessary in respect of the end for which he was made man, the redemption of mankind: that as the first* Adam was the fountain of our impurity, so the second Adam should also be the pure fountain of our righteousness. "God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh;" (Rom. viii. 3.) which he could not have condemned, had he been sent in sinful flesh. "The Father made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;" (2 Cor. v. 21.) which we could not have been made in him, but that he "did no sin," (1 Pet. ii. 22.) and knew no sin. For, whosoever is sinful wanteth a Redeemer; and he could have redeemed none, who stood in need of his own redemption. We are redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ:" (1 Pet. i. 19.) therefore precious, because "of a Lamb without blem-

mine fuisse, sed potentia et virtute Creatoris operatum." I know not whether he be greatest folly; to make the Holy Ghost the father, as these men have done, by creating part of his body by way of seminal conjunction; or to make the same Spirit mother of Christ, as the Nazarenes did. "In Evangelio Hebræorum quod lectitant Nazræi, Salvator inducitur loquens, *Modo me arripuit mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus.*" There is only this difference, that one is founded upon the authority of Scripture, the other upon the authority of

a pretended, but no Scripture: the one maketh the Holy Ghost a partial, the other a total mother.

* Illud unum peccatum, quod tam magnum in loco et habitu tantæ felicitatis admissum est, ut in uno homine originaliter, atque, ut ita dixerim, radicaliter, totum genus humanum damnaretur, non solvitur ac diluitur nisi per unum Mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum, qui solus potuit ita nasci, ut ei opus non esset renasci. S. August. *Enchirid.* cap. 48.

ish, and without spot." Our atonement can be made by no other high-priest than by him who is "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners." (Heb. vii. 26.) We cannot "know that he was manifested to take away our sins,"* except we also know that "in him is no sin." Wherefore, being it is so necessary to believe the original holiness of our human nature in the person of our Saviour; it is as necessary to acknowledge that way by which we may be fully assured of that sanctity, his conception by the Holy Ghost.

Again, it hath been observed† that by this manner of Christ's conception is declared the freedom of the grace of God. For as the Holy Ghost is God, so is he also called the Gift of God: and therefore the human nature in its first original, without any precedent merit,‡ was formed by the Spirit, and in its formation sanctified, and in its sanctification united to the Word; so that the grace was coexistent, and in a manner connatural with it. The mystery of the incarnation is frequently attributed in the Scriptures to the love, mercy, and goodness of God. "Through the tender mercy of our God the day-spring from on high hath visited us:" (Luke i. 78.) In this "the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared." (Tit. iii. 4.) And though these and such other Scriptures speak properly of the love and mercy of God to man alone, offered unto him in the incarnation of our Saviour, and so directly exclude the merits of other men only; yet because they speak so generally with reference to God's mercy, they may well be thought to exclude all universally. Especially considering the impossibility of merit§ in Christ's humanity, in respect of his conception; because all desert necessarily precedeth its reward, and Christ was

* 1 John iii. 5. In quo non est peccatum, ipse venit auferre peccatum. Nam si esset in illo peccatum, auferendum esset illi, non ipse auferret. *S. August.*

† By St. August. Ex hoc quod de Spiritu S. est secundum hominem nativitas Christi, quid aliud quam ipsa gratia demonstratur. *Enchi. 37.*

‡ Modus iste quo natus est Christus de Spiritu S. non sicut filius, et de Maria Virgine sicut filius, insinuat nobis gratiam Dei, qua homo, nullis præcedentibus meritis in ipso exordio nature sue quo esse coepit, verbo Dei copularetur in tantam personæ unitatem, ut idem ipse esset filius Dei qui filius hominis, et filius hominis

qui filius Dei: ac sic in humane nature assumptione fieret quodammodo ipsa gratia naturalis, quæ nullum peccatum posset admittere. Quæ gratia propterea per Spiritum S. fuerat significanda, qui ipso proprie sic est Deus, ut etiam dicatur Dei Donum, *Id. c. 40.*

§ Cum ad naturam Dei non pertineat natura humana, ad personam tamen unigeniti Filii Dei per gratiam pertinet humana natura; et tantam gratiam, ut nulla sit major, nulla prorsus æqualis. Neque enim illam susceptionem hominis ulla merita præcesserunt, sed ab illa susceptione merita ejus cuncta coeperunt. *S. Aug. Tract. 82. in Joan.*

not man before he was conceived, nor can that merit which is not.

Thirdly, Whereas we are commanded to be holy, and that even as he is holy; by this we learn from what foundation this holiness must flow. We bring no such purity into the world, nor are we sanctified in the womb; but as he was sanctified at his conception, so are we at our regeneration. He was conceived not by man, but by the Holy Ghost, and we are "not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." (John i. 13.) The same overshadowing power which formed his human nature, reformeth ours; and the same Spirit assureth us a remission of our sins,* which caused in him an exemption from all sin. He which was born for us upon his incarnation, is born within us upon our regeneration.†

All which considered, we may now render a clear explication of this part of the article, whereby every person may understand what he is to profess, and express what is the object of his faith, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost*. For hereby he ought to intend thus much; I assent unto this as a most necessary and infallible truth, that the only-begotten Son of God, begotten by the Father before all worlds, very God of very God, was conceived and born, and so made man, taking to himself the human nature, consisting of a soul and body, and conjoining it with the Divine in the unity of his person. I am fully assured that the Word was in this manner made flesh, that he was really and truly conceived in the womb of a woman, but not after the manner of men; not by carnal copulation, not by the common way of human propagation, but by the singular, powerful, invisible, immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, whereby a virgin was beyond the law of nature enabled to conceive, and that which was conceived in her was originally and completely sanctified. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost*.

* Ra gratia fit ab initio fidei sue homo quicumque Christianus, qua gratia homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus. De ipso Spiritu et hic renatus, de quo est ille natus. Eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum. S. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 15.
† Nolite desperare; quod semel natum est ex Maria, quotidie et in nobis nascitur. Hieron. Comm. in Psal. lxxxiv. 17.

Born of the Virgin Mary.

THE third person considerable in this third article, is represented under the threefold description of her *name*, *condition*, and *action*. The first telleth us who it was, it was *Mary*; the second informeth us what she was, a *virgin*; the third teaches us what she did, she conceived and bare our Saviour, and brought forth the Son of God; who was *born of the Virgin Mary*.

The evangelist, relating the annunciation, taketh particular notice of this name; for shewing how an angel was sent unto a "virgin espoused to a man," (Luke i. 27.) he first observed that his name was *Joseph*; and then that the virgin's name was *Mary*: not for any peculiar excellency in the name itself, or any particular application to the Virgin arising from the origination of it, as some have conceived;*

* For some have thought the dignity of the Virgin to be denoted in her name. As Greg. Nyss. (or rather his interpolator.) *Hom. in Natal. Christi*: 'Ερωδὸν ἐτίθηκε τὸ παῖδιον, ὡς μὲν αὐτὴν Μαρίαν, ὡς δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκπαύσεως τὸ διδόναι διασημασθῆναι τῆς χάριτος' mistaking, as I conceive, the origination of Mary for that of Anna, her mother מַרְיָם. Thus he thought *grace*, others *dominion*, to be contained in her name. 'Η Μαρία ἐμμανύεται κυρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλαρίς. Κυρίον γὰρ ἔστιν τὴν ἰλπίδα τοῦ παντός κόσμου Χριστόν. *Author. Hom. de Laud. B. Mariæ, sub nomine Epiphani.* Τίτῳ τοιγαροῦν ἡ χάρις (τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ Ἀνὰ ἐμμανύεται) τὴν κυρίαν τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τῆς Μαρίας τὸ ὄνομα. *Damasc. Orthod. Fid. l. iv. c. 15. S. Jerome, de Nom. Hebraicis*: Sciendum quod Maria sermone Syro Domina nuncupatur. So Chrysologus; Dignitas Virginis annunciat ex nomine: Maria Hebræo sermone, Latine Domina nuncupatur. Vocat ergo Angelus Dominam, ut Dominatoris genetricem trepidatio deserat servitatis, quam nasci et vocari Dominam ipsa sui germinis fecit et impetravit autoritas. *Serm. 142. Sermone Syro Maria Domina nuncupatur, et pulchre, quia Dominum genuit, Isidor. Hispal. Orig. l. vii. c. 10.* The same Isidore with others gives another etymology: "Maria illuminatrix, sive stella maris; genuit enim lumen mundi." And Bernard, *Homil. 2.* "super Missus est, Loquimur pauca et super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum maris stella dicitur, et matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri com-

paratur, quia sicut sine sui corruptione sidus suum emittit radium, sic absque sui læsione Virgo parurit filium." So far not amiss. But when from a bad etymology he makes worse divinity, calling her the *Star of Jacob*, and attributing unto her the light of our minds, the life of our graces, and extirpation of our vices (the work of the Spirit of Christ), when in the midst of all our temptations, horrors of conscience, and depths of despair, he adviseth us immediately to a "Respice Stellam, Mariam cogita, Mariam invoca;" his interpretation can warrant no such devotion. This etymology also descendeth from St. Jerome, who in his interpretation of the names in Exodus, as from Philo, "Maria illuminatrix mea, vel illuminans eos, aut amyra maris, vel stella amyra maris." And again, on the names in St. Matthew, "Mariam plerique existimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix, vel amyra maris; sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris, sive amarum mare, 'Εμμανύεται πάλιν ἡ Μαρία σπένδου θαλάσσης." *Homil. de Laudibus B. Mariæ.* Dietæ sunt et ante Mariæ nectæ: nam et Maria soror Aaron dieta fuit, sed illa Maria amaritudo maris vocabitur. *S. Ambros. Instit. Virg. c. 5.* Indeed that *ab amaritudine*, without the adjection of *mare*, is the etymology observed by the Jews; as appears by the author of the *Life of Moses*, who relating how Amram took Jochebed to wife, and of her begat a daughter, addeth, ותקרא שמה מרי כי בעת הוּדא החלי המצר׳ בני חם

but only to denote that singular person, who was then so well known to all men, being espoused unto Joseph, as appeareth by the question of his admiring countrymen, "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary?" (Matt. xiii. 55.) Otherwise the name was common even at that time to many; to the sister of Lazarus, (John xi. 1.) to the mother of James and Joses, (Matt. xxvii. 56.) to the wife of Cleophas, (John xix. 25.) to the mother of John, whose surname was Mark, (Acts xii. 12.) to her who was of Magdala in Galilee, (Luke viii. 2.) to her who bestowed much labour on St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 6.). Nor is there any original distinction between the name of these, and of the mother of our Lord.* For as the name of Jesus was the same with Josuah, so this of Mary was the same with Miriam.† The first of which name recorded was the

למרים בני ישראל She was called Miriam, because at that time the Egyptians, who were the offspring of Cham, made the lives of the sons of Israel bitter. And in the like manner Sedar Olam, נקרא שמה מרי על שם מידור

* This is to be observed, by reason of some learned men, who make the name of the Virgin different from that of others called Mary in the gospel, upon two grounds, in respect of the accent, and the termination; the one being Μαριάμ, the other Μαρία the first with a Hebrew termination, indeclinable, and the accent in ultima; the latter with a Greek termination, declinable, and the accent in penultima. As Ὀνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαριάμ, Luke i. 27. in the nominative; Ἀπογγέλλασθαι σὺν Μαριάμ, Luke ii. 5. in the dative; Μὴ φοβηθῆς παραλαβεῖν Μαριάμ, Matt. i. 20. in the accusative; and μὴ φοβῶ, Μαριάμ, Luke i. 30. in the vocative case. All which belong to the Virgin, who is never named Μαρία as none of the rest by any of the evangelists is ever called Μαριάμ. But notwithstanding this observation, we find the same Virgin's name declined: as, Μνηστυθεῖς τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας, Matt. i. 18. and, Σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ Μαρίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Acts i. 14. both which must come from the Greek termination Μαρία in recto. And, on the contrary, that Mary which St. Paul mentioneth, hath the same Hebrew termination with the Virgin ἀσπασασθαι Μαριάμ, ἥτις πολλὰ ἠκούσασιν εἰς ἡμᾶς, Rom. xvi. 6. Beside, the Syriac translation makes no difference between the name of these and of the Virgin; as

מרים מנדליתא ומרים אמה מרים ריעקוב Mar. xv. 40. So again, מרים מנדליתא ומרים אחרתא Matt. xxviii. 1. And therefore there can be no sufficient foundation for any such distinction.

† For whereas we first read, Exod. xv. 20. מרים הנביאה the LXX. translate it, Μαριάμ ἡ προφῆτις, and the vulgar Lat. Maria Prophetissa. The Hebrew first was מרים Mirjam; the Syriac altering the pronunciation, not the letters, מנדל Marjam, as for מנדל And because the Greek language admitteth no jod consonant, they pronounced it Μαριάμ. Though sometimes indeed, even the Greeks did use the barbarous pronunciation in the barbarous words, as Lucian with the Latins makes Ἰουδαίος of three syllables,

Ἰουδαίος ἔτερον μῶρον ἐξᾶν λαβόν.

Again, because no Greek word endeth in μ, to make it current in that language, it was necessary to alter the termination, according to their custom; as for Annibal Ἀνίβας, Asdrubal Ἀσδρούβας. Amilkar Ἀμίλκας, and Κάιν, Κάϊς. This was to be done sometimes by addition; as Νῶχ Νῶχος, Ἀβὴλ Ἀβελος, Δαμὶχ Δάμεχος, Ἰαρεδ Ἰαρεδός, Ἐνὼς Ἐνωσος, Σὺδ Σὺδός, Ἀδάμ Ἀδαμος, Ἀβραάμ Ἀβραμος, and Ἀβραάμης. And so for Μαριάμ, Μαριάμην or Μαριάμν. Josephus, Μαριάμν τῷ σπαιδὲς ἀδελφῇ, of Miriam the sister of Moses; whom in another place he calls ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Μαριάμνν. Therefore he thought the name of Marianne to be the same

daughter of Amram, the sister of Moses and Aaron, a prophetess; to whom the bringing of Israel out of Egypt is attributed as well as to her brethren. "For I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt (saith the Lord), and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." (Mic. vi. 4.) As she was exalted to be one of them who brought the people of God out of the Egyptian bondage; so was this Mary exalted to become the mother of that Saviour, who through the red sea of his blood hath wrought a plenteous redemption for us, of which that was but a type: and even with the confession of the lowliness of a handmaid she seems to bear that exaltation in her name.*

Beside this name of the blessed Virgin, little hath been discovered to us. Christ, who commended the faith of the centurion, the love of Mary Magdalen, the excellences of John the Baptist, hath left not the least encomium of his mother. The evangelists, who have so punctually described the city, family, and genealogy, of Joseph, make no express mention of her relations, only of her cousin Elizabeth, who was of the tribe of Levi, of the daughters of Aaron. Although it be of absolute necessity to believe that he who was born of her descended from the tribe of Judah, and the family of David; yet hath not the Scripture clearly expressed so much of her, nor have we any more than an obscure tradition of her parents Joachim and Anna.†

with Miriam. And as the Greeks were wont to add their own terminations to exotic words; so did they at other times leave out the exotic terminations, if thereby their own were left. As for **מִרְיָם** et **חַנָּה** 'Abia and "Ana" for **אֲנָה** et **וִירָה** 'Asa and Zapà for **תִּרְהָ** **Θαρά**, for **Μαρία** **Μαρία**. Wherefore from the Hebrew *Miriam* came, by variety of pronunciation, at first the Syriac *Marjam*; and from the Syriac *Marjam*, at first, only by variation of the pronunciation, *Μαρίαμ*, then for the propriety of termination, *Μαρία*.

* For though that interpretation *Domina* may seem to come conveniently enough from **מֶלֶךְ**, yet that being rather from the Chaldees, cannot so well agree with Miriam; nor is the **מ** so properly added at the end, as to the beginning of a Hebrew word, where it is usually in words of simple signification heemanti-

cal. Again, though **מִרְיָם** may signify *smyrna maris*, or *illuminatrix*, which St. Jerome rejected; and *stella* (or rather *stilla*, which is properly **מֶר**) *maris*, or *amarum mare*, which he rather embraced: yet these compositions are not so proper, or probable at all, especially in a name dissyllable. Though the Jews themselves deduce it from **מֶר**, to signify the bitterness of the Egyptian bondage, as we read in Midrash **וַיִּשַׁע**, beside the two authors before quoted, **נִקְרְאת מִרְיָם**: **שֶׁמֶר הַמִּצְרִים אֶת דָּוִד הֵם** yet still the addition of the final *mem* is not proper; or if that should stand for **הֵם**, there were no good account to be given of the *jod*. Whereas if we deduce it from the *radix* **מֶר**, with the addition of the heemantic *mem*, the notation is evident, and the signification clear, as of one exalted above others.

† I call this a *tradition*, because not

Wherefore the title added to that name, maketh the distinction: for as divers characters are given to several persons by which they are distinguished from all others of the same common nomination, as Jacob is called Israel, and Abraham the friend of God, or father of the faithful; so is this Mary sufficiently characterized by that inseparable companion of her name, *the Virgin*.* For the full explication whereof more cannot be required, than that we shew, first, that the Messiah was to be born of a virgin, according to the prediction of the prophets; secondly, that this Mary, of whom Christ was born, was really a virgin when she bare him, according to the relations of the evangelists; thirdly, that being at once the mother of the Son of God, and yet a virgin, she continued for ever in the same virginity, according to the tradition of the fathers, and the constant doctrine of the church.

The obdurate Jew, that he might more easily avoid the truth of the second, hath most irrationally denied the first; resolved rather not to understand Moses and the prophets, than to acknowledge the interpretation of the apostles. It will therefore be necessary from those oracles which were committed unto them, to shew the promised Messiah was to be born after a miraculous manner, to be the son of a woman, not of a man. The first promise of him seems to speak no

in the written word: and obscure, because the first mention we find of it was in the fourth century. Epiphanius first informs us, who speaking of Joseph, says he knew thus much: Ἰουαῖνα μὲν ἦδ' αὐτὴν τῇ πλάσει, καὶ θύλειαν τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀννης, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ἰωακείμ. *Heres.* 78. Again, Εἰ ἀγγέλους προσκυνῶσαι οὐ θύει, πῶς μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀννης γεγεννημένην, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωακείμ τῇ Ἀννα δεδοσμένην; *Heres.* 79. where he makes mention of the history of Mary, and the tradition concerning her nativity. Ἡ τῆς Μαρίας ἱστορία, καὶ παραδόσις ἔχουσι, ὅτι ἔβηεν τὸ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Ἰωακείμ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν τῇ-ἐρημῇ σου συλληφθεῖς, &c. *Damasc. Orthod.* Fid. l. iv. c. 15. et *Orig. contra Celsam de Penitentiis*. What this history of Mary was, or of what authority those traditions were, we cannot learn out of Epiphanius. What the interpreter of Gregory Nyssen's Homily produceth, he confesseth taken from apocryphal writings. And divers of the like relations descended from the prime and greatest heretics. The gnostics had a book among them, which was called Ἰῆνα

Μαρίας. *Heres.* 25. Amongst the Manichees Seleucus wrote the history of the Virgin. And the Protevangelium Jacobi deceived many in relations of this nature. Among which many being certainly false, it is not now easy (if at all possible) to distinguish what part of them or particular is true. "Quod de generatione Marise Faustus posuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quemdam nomine Joachim, quæ Canonicum non est, non, me constringit," saith St. Austin. l. xxiii. contra Faustum c. 9.

* Τίς πότε, ἢ ἐν ποτὶ γενεᾷ τεθελήκεν καλεῖν τὸ ὄνομα Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας, καὶ ἰσχυράμενος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκείνην τὸ παρδόν; Ἐξ αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν ἐκιδόντων ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποφαίνει τὰ τεμῆρη. Ἀξιωματὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀνομασίῳ εἰλόφασιν οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκδοτὰ κρείττους, καὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἀρσάμ προσηύδα τὸ, φίλος Θεοῦ· καὶ οὗ διαλυθῆσεται· τὸ δὲ Ἰαμβ, τὸ ἱερὰ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοιωθῆσεται, καὶ πῶς Ἀπιστόλου, τὸ Βοακρηγῆς, τοῦ αἰσίου, εὐδ' ἁγίου, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκαταλειφθήσεται· καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Μαρίᾳ, τὸ παρδόν, καὶ οὐ κρημνίσεται. *Epiph. Heres.* 78.

less, "the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head:" for as the name of *seed* is not generally or collectively to be taken for the generation of mankind, but determinately and individually for that one seed, which is Christ; so the woman is not to be understood with relation unto man, but particularly and determinately to that *sex* from which alone immediately that seed should come.

According to this first evangelical promise followed that prediction of the prophet, "The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, a woman shall compass a man." (Jer. xxxi. 22.) That new creation of a man is therefore *new*, and therefore a *creation*, because wrought in a woman only, without a man, compassing a man. Which interpretation of the prophet is ancient, literal, and clear,* and whatsoever the Jews have invented to elude it, is frivolous and forced. For while they force the phrase of *compassing a man*, in the latter part of the prediction, to any thing else than a conception, they do not only wrest the scripture, but contradict the former part of the promise, making the new creation neither new, as being often done, nor a creation, as being easy to perform.

But if this prophecy of Jeremy seem obscure, it will be sufficiently cleared by that of Isaiah, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emanuel." (Isa. vii. 14.) The ancient Jews immediately upon the pro-

* For it is not to be denied that the proper signification of סבב is *circum-dare* or *cingere*. R. Judah has observed but one interpretation of this verb, כולם ענין אחד and Kimchi testifies that all words which come from the root סבב signify *encompassing* or *circuition*. Therefore those words, נקבה תסובב נבר must literally import no less than that a woman shall encompass, or enclose a man, which, with the addition of a new creation, may well bear the interpretation of a miraculous conception. Especially considering that the ancient Jews did acknowledge this sense, and did apply it determinately to the Messias: as appeareth in Bereshit Rabba Parash. 89. where shewing that God doth heal with that with which he wounded, he saith, As he punished Israel in a virgin, so would he also heal them with a virgin, according to the prophet, "The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, a woman shall compass a man." By the testimony of

R. Huna in the name of R. Idi, and R. Joshua the son of Levi, וזה מלך המשיח, שנ היום ילדתו This is *Messiah the King*, of whom it is written, (Psal. ii. 7.) *This day have I begotten thee*. And again in Midrash Tillim, upon the 2d Psalm, R. Huna in the name of R. Idi, speaking of the sufferings of the Messias, saith, That when his hour is come, God shall say, וכן הוא אומר אני עלי לבראתי בר ית חדשה היום ולדתו I must create him with a new creation. And so (by virtue of that new creation) he saith, *This day have I begotten thee*. From whence it appeareth that this sense is of itself literally clear, and that the ancient rabbins did understand it of the Messias; whence it followeth that the latter interpretations are but to avoid the truth which we profess, that Jesus was born of a virgin, and therefore is the Christ.

mulgation of the gospel,* understanding well how near this place did press them, gave three several answers to this text: First, denying that it spake of a virgin at all;† secondly, asserting that it could not belong to Jesus;‡ thirdly, affirming that it was fully completed in the person of Hezekiah.§ Whereas the original word was translated a *virgin*, by such interpreters|| as were Jews themselves, some hundred years before our Saviour's birth. And did not the notation of the word, and frequent use thereof in the Scriptures, persuade it, the wonder of the *sign* given by the *Lord himself* would evince as much. But as for that conceit, that all should be fulfilled in Hezekiah, it is so manifestly and undoubtedly false, that nothing can make more for the confirmation of our faith. For this sign was given and this promise made ("a virgin shall conceive and bear a son") at some time in the reign of Ahaz. This "Ahaz reigned but sixteen years in Jerusalem;" (2 Kings xvi. 2.) and Hezekiah his son, who succeeded him, "was twenty and five years old when he began to reign," (2 Kings xviii. 2.) and therefore born several years before Ahaz was king, and consequently not

* How soon these objections were made use of by the Jews, will appear by Justin Martyr, the first writer which made any considerable explication and defence of the Christian religion; who, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, shews us what were the objections of the rabbins: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν τολμᾶτε λέγειν, μὴδὲ εἰπεῖν δαί in τῇ προφητείᾳ τοῦ Ἑσαίου, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθέτος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, ἀλλ', ἰδοὺ ἡ νεάνις ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν. And Tertullian, whose works are full of the divinity of Justin: "Si quando ad dejiciendos aliquos ab hac divina prædicatione, vel convertere singulos simplices quosque gestitis, mentiri audetis, quasi non Virginem, sed juvenculam, concepturam Scriptura contineat." *Advers. Judeos*, cap. 9. et *adv. Marcionem*, lib. iii. cap. 13.

† And as they soon began, so did they go on, with this objection: "Hodie toto jam credente mundo, argumentantur Judæi, Esaiâ docente de Maria et virginitate ejus, Ecce virgo in utero concipiet, et pariet filium, in Hebræo juvenculam scriptum esse, non virginem, id est, *halma*, non *bethula*."

‡ Dicunt Judæi, Provocemus istam prædicationem Esaiæ, et faciamus comparisonem, an Christo, qui jam venit, competat illi primo nomen quod Esaias

prædicavit, et insignia ejus quæ de eo nunciavit. Equidem Esaias prædicat eum. Emmanuelem vocari oportere, debinc virtutem sumpturum Damasci et spolia Samariæ adversus regem Assyriorum. Porro, iniquant, iste qui venit neque sub ejusmodi nomine est dictus, neque re bellica functus. *Tertul. adv. Judeos*.

§ So Justin testifieth of the Jews, speaking to Trypho, and in him to them: Ἐξηγήσθε τὴν προφητείαν ὡς εἰς Ἐξυλιαν τὸν γενόμενον ὑμῶν βασιλέα. And Trypho replies again to Justin; Ἰδομεν ὡς ἐκείνους εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν ὑμῶν ἀποδουκνῆς εἰρησθαι, ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰς Ἐξυλιαν αὐτὸν λέγομεν πεπεφνησθαι.

|| The LXX. ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθέτος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται. It is true, the rest of the interpreters, concurring with the objection of the Jews, translated it, ἰδοὺ ἡ νεάνις, i. e. *adolescentula*, or *juvencula*. But as their antiquity so their authority is far short of the LXX. especially in this case. I shall not need to shew how the origination of

עלמה from עלם proves no less. We know the affinity of the Punic tongue with the Hebrew; and by the testimony of St. Jerome, "Lingua Panica, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, proprie virgo alma appellatur."

now to be conceived when this sign was given. Thus while the ancient Jews name him only to fulfil the prophecy in whom it is impossible it should be fulfilled, they plainly shew, that for any knowledge which they had, it was not fulfilled till our Saviour came: and therefore they cannot with any reason deny but that it belonged unto the Messias, as divers of the ancient rabbins thought and confessed; and is yet more evident by their monstrous error, who therefore expected no Messias in Israel,* because they thought whatsoever was spoken of him to have been completed in Hezekiah. Which is abundantly enough for our present purpose, being only to prove that the Messias promised by God, and expected by the people of God before and under the law, was to be conceived and born of a virgin.

Secondly, As we are taught by the predictions of the prophets, that a virgin was to be mother of the promised Messias; so are we assured by the infallible relations of the evangelists, that this Mary the mother of Jesus, whom we believe to be Christ, was a virgin when she bare him, when she "brought forth her first-born son." That she was a virgin when and after she was espoused unto Joseph, appeareth by the narration of St. Luke; (i. 27.) "for the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph." After the salutation of that angel, that she was still so, appeareth by her question, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" That she continued so after she conceived by the Holy Ghost, is evident from the relation of St. Matthew: for when she was "espoused unto Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. i. 18.) That she was a virgin not only while she was with child, but even when she had brought forth, is also evident out of his application of the prophecy: "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and

* It is the known saying of Hillel, recorded in Sanhedrin, c. Chelek, **אין להם**

משיח לישראל שכבר אכלוהו

בימי חזקיהו *There is no Messias to the*

Israelites, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah. Divers of the latter rabbins endeavour to mollify these words of Hillel by their several expositions, but in vain. And R. Joseph understood him better, who thought he took away all expectation of a Messias,

and therefore fairly prayed for him, Condonet Dominus hoc R. Hillel. However, it appears that from two principles, whereof one was false, he gathered that false conclusion. For first, he thought those words in Isaiah were spoken of the Messias: which proposition was true. Secondly, he conceived that those were spoken of Hezekiah, and fulfilled in him: which proposition was false. From hence he inferred, that the Israelites were not to expect a Messias after Hezekiah: which conclusion was also false.

shall bring forth a son." (Matt. i. 23.) For by the same prediction it is as manifest that a virgin should *bring forth*, as *conceive a son*.* Neither was her act of parturition more contradictory to virginity, than that former of conception.

Thirdly, We believe the mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after his nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For although it may be thought sufficient as to the mystery of the incarnation,† that when our Saviour was conceived and born, his mother was a virgin; though whatsoever should have followed after, could have no reflective operation upon the first-fruit of her womb; though there be no farther mention in the CREED, than that he was *born of the Virgin Mary*; yet the peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest who overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the Ever-Virgin Mary.‡ As if the gate of the sanctuary in the prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her: "This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut." (Ezek. xliv. 2.)

Many, indeed, have taken the boldness to deny this truth, because not recorded in the sacred writ;§ and not only so,

* Hæc est virgo quæ in utero concepit, virgoque peperit filium. Sic enim scriptum est, *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet, et pariet Filium*. Non enim concepturam tantummodo Virginem, sed et parituram Virginem dixit. S. Ambros. Epist. 7. ad Siricium. So he argued from the prophecy, and St. Aug. from the Creed: "Si vel per nascentem corrumpetur ejus integritas, non jam ille de Virgine nascetur; quinque falso, quod absit, de virgine natum tota confiteretur Ecclesia, quæ, imitans ejus matrem, quotidie parit membra, et Virgo est." Enchir. c. 34. As also St. Ambrose in the same epistle: "Quæ potuit Virgo concipere, potuit Virgo generare, quæm semper conceptus præcedat, partus sequatur. Sed si doctrinis non creditur sacerdotum, credatur oraculis Christi, credatur monitis Angelorum, cre-

datur Symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratam semper custodit et servat." And St. Basil upon occasion of the same prophecy: Ἡ αὐτὴ γυνὴ καὶ παρθένος καὶ μήτηρ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγιασμῷ τῆς παρθένιας μένουσα, καὶ τὸν τῆς τεκνογονίας εὐλογίαν κληρονομοῦσα. Hom. 25. Virgo peperit, quia Virgo concepit. Vigil. de unitate Trinit. c. 10.

† Μίχρη γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἱερωτικῆς ἀναγκῆς ἡ παρθένια, τὸ ὃ ἐφεξῆς ἀπολυπαραγμῆται τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μαρτυρίου καταλείβονται. S. Basil. hom. de Nativ.

‡ For so the Greek church always called her ἀειπαρθένος, and from thence the Latins, *Semper Virgo*.

§ First we read in the time of Origen, that some did maintain the virginity of Mary no longer than to Christ's nativity. "In tantam uescio quis prorupit insaniam,

but to assert the contrary as delivered in the Scriptures ; but with no success. For though, as they object, St. Matthew testifieth that Joseph “knew not Mary, until she had brought forth her first-born son,” (Matt. i. 25.) from whence they would infer, that afterwards he knew her ; yet the manner of the Scripture language produceth no such inference.*

ut assereret negatam fuisse Mariam a Salvatore, eo quod post nativitatem illius juncta fuerit Josepho.” *Homil. 7. in Lucam.* Tertullian himself was produced as an assessor of the same opinion ; nor does St. Jerome deny it, though I think he might have done it. Apollinaris, or at least his followers, delivered the same, says Epiphanius, and Eunomius with his, τὸν Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἀφραστον κυφορίαν συνῆλθαι οὐ παρδίνῳ. Photius out of Philostorgius. Not that these words in Photius were the words of Philostorgius, for he was clearly an Eunomian, and therefore would never express their opinions with an οὐ παρδίνῳ. And as he always commended Eunomius, so he was not commended but by an Eunomian, that is, a man of his own sect. As that epigram,

Εὐνομιανῷ

Ἰωσήφην ἐτίθεσσα θεοῦ χάριτ' ὁ σοφῆσι

Which I therefore mention, because Godefroid hath made an unnecessary emendation in the verse, ἐτίθεσσ' ἄθῳ, and a worse interpretation in the inscription, taking the Eunomian to be a catholic, and the name of the sect for the name of a man ; and confirming this error by a greater mistake, saying Eunomianus was the name of a man, twice spoken of in Suidas, once in Εὐνομιανῆς, and again in Ἰωσήφ. It is true indeed Suidas saith expressly, Εὐνομιανῆς, ὄνομα κίριον, and immediately adds these words, τὸν δὲ Εὐνομιανῶν ἵδουσι Βελισάριος τὸ βίβιον λουτζῆν, as if Belisarius had baptized one whose name was Eunomianus. But the words are taken out of Procopius in Hist. Arcana, p. 2. from whence it appears that he who was baptized was by name Theodosius, and-by sect an Eunomian. And whatsoever his name was who wrote that epigram on the History of Philostorgius, he was certainly by sect an Eunomian, and that was intended in the inscription, written without question by some catholic, who thought no man could commend the History of Philostorgius but one of his own opinion. These contradictors of the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord afterwards increased to a

greater number, whom Epiphanius calls by a general name *Antidicomarianitæ*. And from him St. Aug. “*Antidicomarianitæ* appellati sunt Heretici, qui Mariæ Virginitati usque adeo contradicunt, ut affirmant eam post Christum natum viro suo fuisse commixtam,” *de Hæres.* Condemned under that name by the sixth general council, Act. 2. The same were called by the Latins, *Helvidiani*, from Helvidius (a disciple of Acontius the Arian); whose name is most made use of, because refuted by St. Jerome. He was followed by Jovinian, a monk of Milan, as St. Jerome testifieth ; though St. Augustine delivereth his opinion otherwise, “*Virginitatem Mariæ destruebat, dicens eam pariendo fuisse corruptam.*” And Bonosus, a bishop in Macedonia, referred by the council of Capua to the judgment of Anysius bishop of Thessalonica, was condemned for the same, as appeareth by the 79th Ep. of St. Ambrose, written to Theophilus and Anysius : “*Sane non possumus negare de Mariæ filius jure reprehensam, meritoque vestram Sanctitatem abhorruisse, quod ex eodem utero virginali, ex quo secundum carnem Christus natus est, alius partus effusus sit.*” This is the catalogue of those by the ancients accounted heretics, for denying the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord.

* For in the word ἕως there is no such force. Τὸ ἕως οὐ πάντως ἀντιδιαρεῖται τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε τίθῃσι, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀναίνεται. Naz. Orat. 2. de Filio. Τὸ ἕως πολλὰ χρόνον μὲν τινα δευσι ἐπρωτορρομῇ ὑποσέληται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ αἰώνιον δέκνυσθαι. S. Basil. Hom. de Nat. Dñi. “Ἐδος τῇ γραφῇ τῆς ἰστορίας ταύτης μὴ ἐπὶ διωρισμένον τοῦτον χρόνον. S. Chrysost. Τὸ ἕως πολλὰς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διηκῶς ἐν τῇ δευτῇ γραφῇ εἰς ὅσον μὲν κείμενον. Iisd. Polus. lib. i. ep. 18. Τὸ ἕως πολλὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνον λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρόσηματος. Adria. Iasg. in S. S. Τὸ ἕως ἐπὶ μὲν πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἐφεξῆς χρόνου παραλαμβάνεται, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅταν ἐπὶ διήκῃ μεγάλῳ μὲν ἔργῳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ νῦν οὐ μὲν πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν ἐξέχου χρόνου τινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντίως εἰς ἐκδόλῳ ἀπεκρίτου διαστήματος.

When God said to Jacob, "I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of," (Gen. xxviii. 15.) it followeth not that when that was done, the God of Jacob left him. When the conclusion of Deuteronomy was written, it was said of Moses, "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," (Deut. xxxiv. 6.) but it were a weak argument to infer from thence, that the sepulchre of Moses hath been known ever since. When Samuel had delivered a severe prediction unto Saul, he "came no more to see him until the day of his death," (1 Sam. xv. 35.) but it were a strange collection to infer, that he therefore gave him a visit after he was dead. "Michal the daughter of Saul had no child until the day of her death," (2 Sam. vi. 23.) and yet it were a ridiculous stupidity to dream of any midwifery in the grave. Christ promised his presence to the apostles unto the end of the world: whoever made so unhappy a construction as to infer from thence, that for ever after he would be absent from them?

Again, it is true that Christ is termed the *first-born son of Mary*,* from whence they infer she must needs have a second; but might as well conclude, that wheresoever there is one, there must be two. For in this particular the Scripture-notion of priority excludeth an antecedent, but inferreth not a consequent: it supposeth none to have gone before, but

Phot. ep. 30. In the same manner it is observed by the Greek grammarians of πρῶν, that if any one declared that he did it not πρὶν before such a thing were done, it followeth not that he did it when or after that thing was done. As when Helena saw and knew Ulysses a spy in Troy, she promised upon oath that she would discover him to none till he was safe returned to the Grecian fleet:

Καὶ ὥμωσα καρτερὸν ὄρκοι,
Μὴ μὲν πρὶν Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ Τρώας ἀναφθῆναι,
Πρὶν γὰρ τὸν ἐς νῆας τε δοῦς κλισίας τ' ἀφικέσθαι.

Od. γ.

"And yet it is not likely (says Eustathius), that Helena did ever discover Ulysses to the Trojans after he was returned." 'Εν δὲ τῷ, Μὴ πρὶν Ὀδυσῆα Τρώας ἀναφθῆναι, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐς νῆας ἐλθεῖν, εἰπερ μὴ δοκεῖ πιθανὸν ἢ εὐλόγιστον τὸ ἀναφθῆναι ὅπως τὸν Ὀδυσῆα τοῖς Τρώας, ἐνδυματίῳ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ, μὴ πρὶν ποῦσα τοῖς τι πρὶν ἂν τοῖς γίνονται, (ἥτις ἐν τῇ ἀ-βαλῶδι τῆς Ἰλιάδος αἰτῆται) καὶ φανῆται ἐκείδον, ὥς οὐκ εἰσὺς τὴν ἑλῆνιν εἰσεῖν τοῖς Ἰαῶσι: ἀπὸ τοῦ

Ὀδυσσεύς οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐς νῆας καὶ κλισίας ἀφίκατο αὐτὸς. A negation antecedent πρὶν or ἔως, is no affirmation following them.

* For I shall not deny that Christ was called the *first-born* in respect of his mother, though Epiphanius thought that a sufficient answer: οὐκ εἶπον ὅτι ἐγέννησε τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτὴν ἔως ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς: καὶ οὐκ εἶπα, τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρωτότοκον. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς ἰσθμῶν, ἐξ αὐτῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεγενῆσθαι: ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τῷ πρωτότοκῳ ἰσχυμῇ οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρωτότοκον μόνον. Heres. 78. As if her son the first-born were not her first-born son. Οὐ πάντως ὁ πρωτότοκος σφίς τοὺς ἐκγονομένους ἔχει τὴν σύγκρισιν, ἀλλ' ὁ σφῶντι διατέλγει μὴτραι πρωτότοκος ὀνομάζεται. S. Basil. Hom. de Nativ. Primogenitus est non tantum post quem et alii, sed ante quem nullus. S. Hieron. adv. Helvid. It is observed by Servius, on that of Virgil's Æneid. 1. Troja: qui primus ab oris, that primus is post quem nullus.

concludeth not any to follow after. "Sanctify unto me (saith God) all the first-born;" which was a firm and fixed law, immediately obliging upon the birth: whereas if the first-born had included a relation to a second, there could have been no present certainty, but a suspension of obedience; nor had the first-born been sanctified of itself, but the second birth had sanctified the first. And well might any sacrilegious Jew have kept back the price of redemption due unto the priest,* nor could it have been required of him, till a second offspring had appeared; and so no redemption at all had been required for an only son. Whereas all such pretences were unheard of in the law, because the original Hebrew word† is not capable of any such construction; and in the law itself it carrieth with it a clear interpretation, "Sanctify unto me all the first-born: whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and beast, it is mine." (Exod. xiii. 2.) The apertion of the womb determineth the first-born;‡ and the law of redemption excludeth all such tergiversation: "Those that are redeemed, from a month old thou shalt redeem;" (Num. xviii. 16.) no staying to make up the relation, no expecting another birth to perfect the redemption. Being then they brought our Saviour "to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord; as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;" (Luke ii. 22, 23.) it is evident he was called the first-born of Mary according to the notion of the law of Moses, and consequently that title inferreth no succession, nor proveth the mother to have any other offspring.

Indeed, they thirdly object, it cannot be denied but that we read expressly in the Scriptures of the brethren of our Lord: "He went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren," (John ii. 12.) and, "While he talked unto the people, his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him," (Matt. xii. 46.) But although his mother and his brethren be named together, yet they are never called the sons of his mother; and the question

* Thus Jerome makes his plea: "Quid me in unius mensis stringis articulo? quid primogenitum vocas, quem an sequantur fratres ignoro? Expecta donec nascatur secundus: nihil debeo sacerdoti, nisi et ille fuerit procreatus, per quem is qui

ante natus est incipiat esse primogenitus." *Advers. Helvid.*

† נכורם

‡ Definivit sermo Dei quid sit Primogenitum; Omne, inquit, quod aperit vulvam. *S. Jer. adv. Helv.*

is not whether Christ had any brethren, but whether his mother brought forth any other children? It is possible Joseph might have children before Mary was espoused to him; and then as he was reputed and called our Saviour's father, so might they well be accounted and called his brethren, as the ancient fathers,* especially of the Greek church, have taught. Nor need we thus assert that Joseph had any offspring, because the language of the Jews includeth in the name of *brethren* not only the strict relation of fraternity, but also the larger of consanguinity; and therefore it is sufficient satisfaction for that expression, that there were such persons allied unto the blessed Virgin. "We be brethren," (Gen. xiii. 8.) said Abraham unto Lot; when Abraham was the son of Terah, Lot of Haran, and consequently not his brother, but his nephew, and, as elsewhere properly styled, "the son of his brother." (Gen. xii. 5.) "Moses called Mishaël and Elzaphan the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Come near, carry your brethren from before the sanctuary;" (Lev. x. 4.) whereas those brethren were Nadab and Abihu, the sons, not of Uzziel, but of Aaron. "Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son;" (Gen. xxix. 12.) whereas Rebekah was the sister of Rachel's father. It

* Origen first delivereth it on St. Matt. and Eusebius sheweth his opinion, speaking of St. James the brother of our Lord, Hist. Eccl. i. li. c. 1. Τότε δὲτα καὶ ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λαγόμενον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι διὰ καὶ οὗτος ἰωσήφ ὀνόμαστο παῖς, τοῦ δι' Χριστοῦ πατρὸς ὁ ἰωσήφ. So we read, as it is set forth by R. Stephan. But in my book collated with an ancient MS. "Ὅτι διὰ καὶ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ ἰωσήφ τοῦ νομιζομένου πατρὸς εἰσὶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, which is much more plain; for ὀνόμαστο παῖς is nothing so pertinent in this particular; as υἱὸς ἦν. So Epiphanius: "Ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἰάκωβος οὗτος υἱὸς τοῦ ἰωσήφ ἐκ γυναικὸς τοῦ ἰωσήφ, οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας. Hæres. 29. And Hæres. 42. speaking of the rest he calls them, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς ὄντας αὐτοῦ ἄλλης γυναικός. Thus St. Hilary; "Homines prævisi simi hinc præsumunt opinionis suæ auctoritatem, quod plures Dominum nostrum fratres habuisse sit traditum, quasi Mariæ illi fuissent, et non potius Joseph ex priore conjugio suscepti." Com. in Matt. c. 1. Thus also St. Ambrose de Virg. And generally all the fathers to that time, and the Greeks afterwards. St. Chrys. St. Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, Θεομε-

nus, and Nicephorus. These all seem to have followed an old tradition, which is partly still continued, in Epiphani. Εἶχε δι' οὗτος ὁ ἰωσήφ τὴν μὲν πρώτην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἰούδα· καὶ κτίσκει αὐτῇ αὐτὴ παῖδας τὸν ἀρβμὸν ἕξ, τίσσεσας μὲν ἄρρενας, θήλειας δι' δύο. Hæres. 78. The first of these six children was James: μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ γίγνεται παῖς ἰωσήφ καλούμενος, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν Συμεὼν, ἔπειτα ἰούδας· καὶ δύο θυγατέρες, ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη καλουμένη. Thus had the Greeks a distinct relation of the sons and daughters of Joseph, and of the order of their generation. Whose authority I shall conclude with that of Jobias (Econ. l. ix. "Ἐδὲ πατέρα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἔσθ' ὅτις ὀνομάσθαι τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ποιητῶν τούτων ἐξελήφθη, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ διαλάμπεστας τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἰωσήφ, καὶ οἱ τούτοις πατέρες." Phot. Biblioth. 222. And that of Amphilochius, Jun. Orat. in Disp. Ἠρώτων δι' πότε καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἰωσήφ υἱοί, καὶ δὲ μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς, καὶ τῇ πύρρα διδάσκει τὸ ἀληθές, γεγραφήσασιν ἰάκωβος καὶ ἰούδας πατρὶ τῷ κοσμῷ, Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλους ἱαντοῦς εἶναι.

is sufficient therefore, that the évangélists, according to the constant language of the Jews, call the kindred of the blessed Virgin the brethren and sisters of her only son; which indeed is something the later, but the most generally approved, answer.*

And yet this difficulty, though usually no farther considered, is not fully cleared; for they which impugned the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord, urged it farther, pretending that as the Scriptures called them the brethren of Christ, so they also shewed them to be the sons of Mary the mother of Christ. For first the Jews express them particularly by their names, "Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?" (Matt. xiii. 55.) Therefore James and Joses were undoubtedly the brethren of Christ, and the same were also as unquestionably the sons of Mary:† for among the women

* The first, I conceive, who returned this answer was St. Jerome, in a tractate written in his youth at Rome against Helvidius; wherein, after a long discourse of several acceptations of *brethren* in the Scriptures, he thus concludes: "Restat igitur, ut fratres eos intelligas appellatos cognatione, non affectu, non gentis privilegio, non natura, quo modo Lot Abraham, quo modo Jacob Laban esse appellatus frater." And as for the other opinion of those which went before him, he says it was grounded merely upon an apocryphal history, *Com. in Matt. c. 12.* "Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta Apocryphorum, et quandam Escham mulierulam confingentes." Indeed Origen himself, followed in this particular by the Greek church, did confess no less; who tells the authors from whom that interpretation first arose; "Fratres autem Jesu putabant nonnulli esse, (ex traditione Hebræorum sumpta occasione, ex evangelio quod titulum habet juxta Petrum, aut ex libro Jacobi) filios Joseph ex priorē uxore, quæ convixerat ipsi antequam duceret Mariam, in Matt. xiii. 55." This Jacobus mentioned by Origen, is the same with him whom Eustathius mentions in Hexamero; "Ἀξίον δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὅτι διέγνωτο καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Mariam Ἰακώβου τῆς, ἐκείνης." Where he reckons Joseph inter τῶν συγγενῶν; and Epiphanius calls Ἰακώβου Ἐσχάου. St. Jerome therefore observing that the former opinion of Joseph's sons was founded merely upon an apocryphal writing, and being ready to assert the virginity of Joseph as well as Mary, first in-

vented the other solution in the kindred of Mary, as founded not only in the language, but also testimony of the Scriptures. "Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta Apocryphorum, et quandam Escham mulierem confingentes. Nos autem sicut in libro quem contra Helvidium scripsimus continetur, fratres Domini non filios Joseph, sed consobrinos Salvatoris, Mariæ liberos intelligimus materteræ Domini, quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris et Joseph et Judæ, quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem consobrinos dici omnis Scriptura demonstrat." *S. Jer. in Matt. xii. 49.* After St. Jerome, St. Augustin embraced this opinion: "Consanguinei Virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur. Erat enim consuetudinis Scripturarum appellare fratres quoslibet consanguineos et cognationis propinquos." In *Joh. Tract. 28. item Tract. 10. et contra Faustum, l. xxii. 35.* Although therefore he seem to be indifferent in his exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, "Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filiis Joseph de alia uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus, debet intelligi:" yet because this exposition was written while he was a presbyter, and those before-mentioned after he was made a bishop; therefore the former was taken for his undoubted opinion, and upon his and St. Jerome's authority, hath been generally, since received in the Latin church.

† From this place Helvidius argued, "Hæc eadem vocabula in alio loco nominari, et eodem esse fratres Domini filios

at the cross we find "Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James and Joses." (Matt. xxvii. 56.) Again, this Mary they think can be no other than the mother of our Lord, because they find her early in the morning at the sepulchre with Mary Magdalen and Salome; (Mark xvi. 1.) and it is not probable that any should have more care of the body of the son than the mother.* She then who was certainly present at the cross, was not probably absent from the sepulchre: wherefore they conclude, she was the mother of Christ, who was the mother of James and Joses, the brethren of Christ.

And now the urging of this argument will produce a greater clearness in the solution of the question. For if it appear that Mary the mother of James and Joses was different and distinguished from Mary the Virgin; then will it also be apparent that the brethren of our Lord were the sons of another mother, for James and Joses were so called. But we read in St. John, that "there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen." (John xix. 25. Matt. xxvii. 56.) In the rest of the evangelists we find at the same place Mary Magdalen, and "Mary the mother of James and Joses;" (Mark xv. 40.) and again at the sepulchre, "Mary Magdalen and the other Mary:" (Matt. xxviii. 1.) wherefore that other Mary, by the conjunction of these testimonies, appeareth to be Mary the wife of Cleophas, and the mother of James and Joses; and consequently James and Joses, the brethren of our Lord, were not the sons of Mary his mother, but of the other Mary,† and therefore called his brethren, according to the language of the Jews, because that the other Mary was the sister of his mother.

Notwithstanding therefore all these pretensions, there can be nothing found to raise the least suspicion of any interruption of the ever-blessed Mary's perpetual virginity. For as she was a virgin when she conceived, and after she

Marie." *S. Hier. advers. Helv.* And from the next be concluded, "Ecce Jacobus et Joses, filii Mariæ, quos Judæi fratres appellârunt."

* Here Helvidius exclaiming, triumphed; "Quam miseram erit et impium de Maria hoc sentire, ut cum aliæ fœminæ curam sepulturæ habuerint, matrem ejus dicamus absentem?"

† Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, 28.

cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore; ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis Matris Domini, cujus Joannes in libro suo meminit, filius. *S. Hieron. in Catalogo.* Sicut in sepulchro ubi positum est corpus Domini, nec antea nec postea mortuus jacuit: sic uterque Mariæ nec antea nec postea quicquam mortale suscepit. *S. Aug. in Joh. Tract.*

brought forth our Saviour; so did she continue in the same state and condition, and was commended by our Saviour to his beloved disciple, as a mother only now of an adopted Son.

The third consideration belonging to this part of the article is, how this Virgin was a mother, what the foundation was of her maternal relation to the Son of God, what is to be attributed unto her in this sacred nativity, beside the immediate work of the power of the Highest, and the influence of the Holy Ghost. For we are here to remember again the most ancient form of this article, briefly thus delivered, *born of the Holy Ghost, and Virgin Mary*; as also that the word *born** was not taken precisely for the nativity of our Saviour, but as comprehending in it whatsoever belonged to his human generation; and when afterward the conception was attributed to the Spirit, the nativity to the Virgin; it was not so to be understood, as if the Spirit had conceived him, but the blessed Virgin, by the power and operation of the Spirit.

First therefore we must acknowledge a true, real, and proper conception, by which the Virgin did conceive of her own substance the true and real substance of our Saviour,† according to the prediction of the prophet, “Behold a virgin shall conceive,” and the annunciation of the angel, “Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb.”‡ From whence our Saviour is expressly termed by Elizabeth “the fruit§ of her womb.” (Luke i. 42.)

Secondly, As she did at first really and properly conceive, so did she also nourish and increase the same body of our Saviour, once conceived, by the true substance of her own: by which "she was found with child of the Holy Ghost," (Matt. i. 18.) and is described going with "Joseph to be taxed, being great with child,"|| and pronounced happy by that loud cry of the woman in the gospel, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee."¶

* Γεννηθέντα.

† Tantum ad nativitatem carnis ex se
dedit, quantum ex se foeminae edendorum
corporum susceptis originibus impendunt.
S. Hilar. l. x. de Trinit.

‡ That is, by a proper conception, συλαβῶν ἐν γαστρὶ· the Syriac in one word ܝܬܒܐܥܨܝܕܥܪܥܝܬܐ ac si diceret, ventrescere. So the LXX. translated the simple ἱγέρω, ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται. As therefore ἐν γαστρὶ

Ἰχθυ expresseth a proper gravidation, so doth ἡ γαστήρ συλλαβεῖν a proper conception. According to that expression of Gregory Nazianzen, **Θυμῶς μὲν, ὅτι χωρὶς ἀνδρός· ἀνδραγατικῶς δὲ, ὅτι νόμῳ κινήσας.** Ep. i. ad Cledon.

§ Heb. פרי במז.

|| Luke ii. 5. οὐση ἰγνύου.

¶ Luke xi. 27. κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε.

Thirdly, When Christ was thus conceived, and grew in the womb of the blessed Virgin, she truly and really did bring forth a son, by a true and proper parturition; and Christ thereby was properly born, by a true nativity.* For as we read, "Elizabeth's full time came that she should be delivered, and she brought forth a son;" (Luke i. 57.) so in the like simplicity of expression, and propriety of speech, the same evangelist speaks of Mary, "The days were accomplished that she should be delivered, and she brought forth her first-born son." (Luke ii. 6, 7.)

Wherefore from these three, a true conception, nutrition, and parturition, we must acknowledge that the blessed Virgin was truly and properly the mother of our Saviour.† And so is she frequently styled the mother of Jesus, in the language of the evangelists, and by Elizabeth particularly, the "mother of her Lord," as also by the general consent of the church (because he which was born of her was God,)‡ the *Deipara*;§ which being a compound title begun in the Greek

* Περὶ πληροφορημένους εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντα, ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θεότητα καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ, γεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου. *Ig. Epist. ad Smyr.*

† Veri et proprii filii quis nisi absurdissimus neget vere et proprie esse matrem? *Facundus* l. i. c. 4. Hoc et ad orendum difficile, et dignum controversia videbatur, utrum Deum illa Virgo genuerit: cæterum quod vere et proprie genuerit, quicquid est ille quem genuit, nulli dignum disceptationis apparet. *Ibid.*

‡ Πῶς γὰρ οὐ Θεοτόκος ἡ δὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα; *Theod. Abucara.*

§ This name was first in use in the Greek church, which delighting in the happy compositions of that language, called the blessed Virgin Θεοτόκος. From whence the Latins in imitation styled her "Virginem Deiparam et Deigenitricem." Meursius in his Glossary, sets the original of this title in the time of Justinian. "Inditum hoc nomen est matri Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi a Synodo V. Constantinopolitana tempore Justiniani." Whereas this was not the original, but the confirmation of that title. "In hac Synodo Catholice est institutum, ut Beata Maria semper virgo Θεοτόκος diceretur: quia sicut catholica fides habet, non hominem solum, sed vere Deum et hominem, genuit." *Paul. Warnef. de Gest. Longobard.* l. vi. c. 14. So speaketh he of the same synod: and it is true, for the seventh

canon of the same runneth thus: Εἰ τις κατὰ ἀναφορὰν ἢ καταχρηστικῶς Θεοτόκον λέγει τῇ ἁγίᾳ, ἑδοξεν, ἀναιρεῖσθαι Μαρίαν — ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίως καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην Θεοτόκον αὐτὴν ὀμολογᾷ — ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Otherwise in this council was but confirmed what had been determined and settled long before: and therefore Photius says thereof, Αὐτὴ ἡ Σύνοδος Νεστορίου λέγει τὰ μὲν παρὰ παραφύμματα δόγματα εἰς τὸ παντάλιν ἐξιδίριον, that it utterly cut off the heresy of Nestorius, which then began to grow up again. Now part of the heresy of Nestorius was the denial of this Θεοτόκος, and the whole was nothing else but the ground of that denial. And therefore being he was condemned for denying of it, that title must be acknowledged authentic, which he denied from the time of the council of Ephesus; in which those fathers, saith Photius, expressly, τὴν πανάχραντον καὶ δειπαρδίνον (Χριστοῦ) μητέρα κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνυφημισθῆαι Θεοτόκον παραδίδωκε. *Epist. 1.* And that it was so then is manifest, because by the denial of this the Nestorian heresy was first discovered, not in Nestorius himself, but in his presbyter Anastasius, who first in a sermon magisterially delivered, Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν καλεῖτο μητέρα, *Soc. Eccl. Hist.* l. vii. c. 31. and *Liberat. Breviar.* c. 4. as also *Euaagrius* and *Nicephorus*. Upon which words arising a tumult, Nestorius took his presbyter's part, teaching the same doc-

church, was resolved into its parts by the Latins, and so the Virgin was plainly named the mother of God.*

trine constantly in the church, *καὶ παραχρῆν τὴν λέξιν τοῦ Θεοτόκου ἐκβάλλον*. And thereupon the tumult grew so great, that a general council for that reason was called by Theodosius, jun. *τοῦ Νεστορίου τὴν ἀγίαν Μαρίας εἶναι Θεοτόκον ἀγνωμῆν*, as Justinian testifieth. *Ep. ad V. Synodum*. In which, when all things seemed clearly to be carried against Nestorius and his faction, he hoped to have reconciled all by this feigned acknowledgment, *Ἀγίου Θεοῦ καὶ Θεοτόκου ἡ Μαρία, καὶ παυσάσθω τὰ λυπηρά*. *Soc. l. vii. c. 34. Liber. Brev. c. 6*. It is plain then, that the council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius, confirmed this title *Θεοτόκος*, I say, confirmed it; for it is evident that it was before used in the church, by the tumult which arose at the first denial of it by Anastasius; and so confirmed it as received before, because they approved the epistles of St. Cyril, who proved it by the usage of those fathers which preceded him. Where by the way it is observable, that while St. Cyril produceth nine several fathers for the use of this word, and both before and after he produceth them, affirmeth that they all did use it; there are but three of them who expressly mention it, Athanasius, Antiochus and Ammon. *Epist. ad Reginas*. And it is something to be admired, that he should so name the other six, and recite those places out of them which had it not, when there were before him so many beside them that used it. As Gregory Nazianzen, *Εἰ τις οὐ Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν ὀνομαζέμεν, χάρις ἔστω τῆς Δύστητος*. *Epist. ad Cladonum*, and in his first oration de Filio speaking of the difference of his generation from that of others, *πῶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς ἦνως Θεοτόκον παρ' ἑνὶν*; and St. Basil asserteth, *μὴ καταδέχασθαι τὴν φιλοχρίστην τὴν ἀκοήν, ὅτι ποτὶ ἐπαύσαντο εἶναι παρ' ἑνὶν ἡ Θεοτόκος*. *Hom. de Nat. Christi*. And that in the time of St. Basil and St. Gregory, this term was usual, appeareth by the objection of Julian, who derided the Christians for thinking God could be born of a woman; *Θεοτόκον δι' ἡμεῖς οὐ παύσαντες Μαρίαν καλοῦντες*. *S. Cyr. tom. 6*. Before both these Eusebius speaketh of Helena, who built a church at Bethlehem; *Ἡ Καισιλέ ἡ Θεοτοκοτάτη τῆς Θεοτόκου τὴν κτίσιν μνήμασι θαυμαστοῖς καταπέμει*. *de vita Const. l. iii*. And before Eusebius, Alexander bishop of Alexandria; *ἀπαρχὴ γένοντο δὲ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, σώμα φερόμενος ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οὐ δούλου, ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου Μαρίας*. *Ep. ad Alex. apud Theod. l. i. c. 4*. Before him Dionysius Alex. calls our

Saviour *τὸν σεμνόντα ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρ' ἑνὶν καὶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίας*. *Epist. ad Paulum Samosat*. And speaking of the words of Isaiah, "a virgin shall conceive," *Δείκνυσιν ὅτι ἡ Θεοτόκος τινὰ συνέλαβεν, ἡ παρθένος διελόντι*. *Rest. ad Quest. 5*. And in the answer to the same question, *πρωίματι ἀγία ἔδραστοι, καὶ σὺνπταται τῇ δύσει τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ ἡ δειματοσος σπητὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Μαρία ἡ Θεοτόκος, καὶ παρθένος*. And again, *οὐτα σὺν λέγει καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου*. In answer to the seventh question, *διὰ τὸ φύγειν εἰς Αἰγύπτου τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἄμα τῇ Θεοτόκῃ Μαρίᾳ ἐν ἀγκαλῆς φερόσῃ τὸν καταφυγὴν ἡμῶν*, and so often. Nay, yet before him Origen did not only use, but expound at large the meaning of that title *Θεοτόκος*, in his first tome on the Epistle to the Romans, as Socrat. and Liberatus testify. Well therefore did Antiochus, bishop of Antioch, urge the ancient fathers against Nestorius, calling it *πρόφορον ὄνομα καὶ τίτρεμμένη πολλοῖς τῶν Πατέρων*. And again, *Πολλοῖς τῶν Πατέρων καὶ συνταδῶν, καὶ γραφῶν, καὶ ῥηθῶν*. *Τούτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα*, says he, *οὐδαὶς τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διδασκάλων παρήγγηται· ὃ ἵτι γὰρ χρῆσάμενοι αὐτῷ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, ὃ ἵτι μὴ χρῆσάμενοι οὐκ ἐπιτάσσοντο τῶν χρησαμένων*. *Concil. Ephes. p. 1. c. 25*.

* Although *Θεοτόκος* may be extended to signify as much as the mother of God, because *τίκτειν* doth sometimes denote as much as *γενᾶν*, and therefore it hath been translated *Dei genitrix*, as well as *Deipara*; yet those ancient Greeks which call the Virgin *Θεοτόκος*, did not call her *μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. But the Latins translating *Θεοτόκος*, *Dei genitrix*, and the Greeks translating *Dei genitrix* *θεοῦ μήτηρ*, they both at last called her plainly the mother of God. The first which the Greeks observed to style her so, was Leo the Great, as was observed by Ephraim Patriarch of Theopolis, whose words have been very much mistaken by two learned men, Dionysius Petavius and Leo Allatus, who have produced them to prove that Leo Magnus was the first man which ever used the word *Θεοτόκος*. A strange error this must needs appear in so great a person as a patriarch, and that of the Greek church; and indeed not imaginable, considering how well he was versed in those controversies, and how he compared the words of Leo with those of the ancient Greek fathers, and particularly of St. Cyril. His words are these in his epistle ad Zenobium, Πρώτος ἐν ἀγίᾳ Αἰωνῇ ἰδιῶς εἶπεν αὐταῖς λέξεν, ὡς μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἔστιν ἡ ἀγία

The necessity of believing our Saviour thus to be *born of the Virgin Mary*, will appear both in respect of her who was the mother, and of him who was the son.

In respect of her it was therefore necessary, that we might perpetually preserve an esteem of her person proportionable to so high a dignity. It was her own prediction, "From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed;"* but the obligation is ours, to call her, to esteem her so. If Elizabeth† cried out with so loud a voice, "Blessed art thou among women," when Christ was but newly conceived in her womb; what expressions of honour and admiration can we think sufficient, now that Christ is in heaven, and that mother with him? Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that special privilege granted her, which is incommunicable to any other.‡ We cannot bear too reverend a regard unto the "mother of our Lord," so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord himself. Let us keep the language of the primitive church: "Let her be honoured and esteemed, let him be worshipped and adored."§

Θεοτόκος, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πατέρων διακρυσίους ἡμῶσι μὴ τοῦτο φαμένον. That is, Leo was the first who in plain terms called the Θεοτόκος, that is, *Mary, the mother of God*; whereas the fathers before him spoke not the same in express words. Petavius and Allatius have clearly mistaken the proposition, making the subject the predicate, and the predicate the subject, as if he had first called the *mother of God Θεοτόκος*, whereas he is said first to call the Θεοτόκος *mother of God*, as appeareth by the article added to the subject, not to the predicate. But if that be not sufficient, his meaning will appear by another passage to the same purpose, in his epistle ad Syncreticum; "Ὅτι μνηστὴρ Θεοῦ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἐλισάβετ ἀνέγνω, ἐν οἷς λέγει. Καὶ πύθεν μοι ταῦτο, ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς με; σαφίστερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν λέξιν πρῶτος ὁ δοῦλος Διὸς ὁ Πάπας πρόηκεν." Therefore as he took the *Lord and God* to be synonymous; so he thought Elizabeth first styled *Mary, the mother of God*, because she called her the *mother of her Lord*; and after Elizabeth, Leo was the first who plainly styled her so, that is, the *mother of God*. And that we may be yet farther assured of his mind, he produceth the words of Leo the pope, in his epistle to Leo the emperor: "Ἀναδιαμριξίσθω Νεστόριος, ὁ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ Θεοτόκον Μαρὴν ἐχρῆ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀδερφῶν δὲ μόνον, πιστεύον εἶναι μνηστῆρα. The sentence which he

translates is this, "Anathematizetur ergo Nestorius, qui beatam Virginem Mariam non Dei, sed hominis tantummodo, credidit genitricem." Epist. 97. c. 1. Where plainly genitrix Dei is translated μήτηρ Θεοῦ and Θεοτόκος is added by Ephraim out of custom in the subject, being otherwise not at all in Leo's words. It is therefore certain that first in the Greek church they termed the blessed Virgin Θεοτόκος, and the Latins from them *Dei genitrix*, and *mater Dei*, and the Greeks from them again *μήτηρ Θεοῦ*, upon the authority of Leo, not taking notice of other Latins, who styled her so before him.

* Luke i. 48. Non æquanda est mulieribus cunctis quæ genuit majestatem. Author lib. de singular. Clericorum.

† Helisabet et Zacharias nos docere possunt quanto inferiores sunt B. Mariæ matri Domini sanctitate, quæ conscia in se habitantis Dei libere proclamat, Ecce ergo ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes. S. Hier. adv. Pelag. lib. i.

‡ Absit ut quisquam S. Mariam divinæ gratiæ privilegiis, ut speciali gloria, fraudare conetur.

§ Ἡ Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος προσκυνισθῆναι ἐν τιμῇ ἵσταται Μαρία, ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσκυνισθῶν. Τὴν Μαρίαν μνηστὴρ προσκυνιστῶν. Epiph. Hæres. 79. Εἰ καλλίστη ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἅγια, καὶ τιμιώτατη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνισθῆναι. Ib. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ὁρμμένων θεολογοῦμεν οὐδὲν

In respect of him it was necessary, first, that we might be assured he was made, or "begotten of a woman," and consequently that he had from her the true nature of man, "For he took not on him the nature of angels," (Heb. ii. 16.) and therefore saved none of them, who for want of a Redeemer, are "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." And man once fallen had been, as deservedly, so irrevocably condemned to the same condition, but that "he took upon him the seed of Abraham." For being we are "partakers of flesh and blood," we could expect no redemption but by him who "likewise took part of the same." (Heb. ii. 14.) We could look for no Redeemer, but such a one, who by consanguinity was our brother.* And being there is but one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, we cannot be assured that he was the Christ, or is our Jesus, except we be first assured that he was a man. Thus our Redeemer, the man Christ Jesus, was born of a woman, that he might redeem both men and women;† that both sexes might rely upon him, who was of the one, and from the other.

Secondly, It was necessary we should believe our Saviour conceived and born of such a woman as was a most pure and immaculate virgin. For as it behoved him in all things to be made like unto us; so in that great similitude a dissimilitude was as necessary, that he should be "without sin." (Heb. iv. 15.) Our passover is slain, and behold the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world; but the lamb of the passover must be without blemish. Whereas then we draw something of corruption and contamination by our seminal

τῶν δι' ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐν ἀρετῇ διασφιλαντας ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀρίστους γεγαυρομεν μόνον δὲ τὸν τὸν ἑλόν σφραγισμένον θεὸν καὶ πατέρα, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ γε λόγον, καὶ τὸ πανάγειν σφύμα. Theod. Therapeut. 2. p. 302.

* Under that notion did the ancient Jews expect him, as appeareth by the Targum, Cantic. viii. 1. וְבַחֲדָא דִּימְנָא

אַתְּנָלוּ מְלִיכָא מְשִׁיחָא לְבְנִי שְׁתָּא דִּישְׂרָאֵל וְיִירָחוּ לוֹה בְּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִיתָּא תְּחָא עֲמָנָא לֹאחַ When the Messias shall reveal himself, the sons of Israel shall say unto him, Thou shalt be unto us a brother.

† Homini liberatio in utroque sexu debuit apparere. Ergo, quia virum oportebat suscipere, qui sexus honorabilior

est, conveniens erat ut feminei sexus liberatio hinc appareret, quod ille vir de femina natus est. S. August. Quæst. l. lxxxiii. Nolite vos ipsos contemnere, viri, filius Dei virum suscepit: nolite vos ipsas contemnere, feminae, filius Dei natus ex femina est. Idem de agone Christi.

‡ Heb. iv. 15. Non eum in peccatis mater ejus in utero aluit, quem Virgo concepit, Virgo peperit. S. August. in Tract. 4. in Johan. Ergo ecce Agnus Dei. Non habeat iste traducem de Adam, carnem tantum sumpsit de Adam, peccatum non assumpsit. Ibid. Verbum caro factum in similitudine carnis peccata omnia nostra suscepit, nullum realius vitium ferens ex traduce prævaricationis exortum. Johan. 4. Epist. ad Constantinum.

traduction from the first Adam; our Saviour hath received the same nature, without any culpable inclination, because born of a virgin, without any seminal traduction. Our high-priest is "separate from sinners," not only in the actions of his life, but in the production of his nature. For as Levi was in the loins of Abraham,* and paid tithes in him, and yet Christ, though the son of Abraham, did not pay tithes in him, but receive them in Melchizedeck: so though we being in the loins of Adam, may be all said to sin in him; yet Christ, who descended from the same Adam according to the flesh, was not partaker of that sin, but an expiation for it. For he which is contained in the seminal virtue of his parent, is some way under his natural power, and therefore may be in some manner concerned in his actions: but he who is only from him by his natural substance, according to a passive or obediential power, and so receiveth not his propagation from him, cannot be so included in him, as to be obliged by his actions, or obnoxious to his demerits.

Thirdly, It was necessary that we should believe Christ born of that person, that Virgin Mary which was espoused unto Joseph, that thereby we might be assured that he was of the family of David. For whatsoever promises were made of the Messias, were appropriated unto him. As the seed of the woman was first contracted to the seed of Abraham, so the seed of Abraham was next appropriated to the son of David. He was "to be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God *was to give unto him the throne of his father David.*" (Luke i. 32.) When Jesus asked the Pharisees, "What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? they said unto him, The son of David." (Matt. xxii. 42.) When Herod demanded of the chief priests and scribes, "where Christ should be born; they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea," (Matt. ii. 4, 5.) because that was the city of David, whither Joseph went up with Mary, his espoused wife, "because he was of the house and lineage of David." (Luke ii. 4.) After John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, was born, Zacharias blessed the Lord God of Israel, who had "raised up a horn

* Levi in lumbis Abrahæ fuit, secundum concupiscentiam carnalem, Christus autem secundum solam substantiam carnalem. Cum enim sit in semine et visibilis corpulentia et invisibilis ratio, utrumque cucurrit ex Abraham, vel etiam ex ipso Adam, usque ad corpus Mariæ, quia et ipsum eo modo conceptum et exortum est: Christus autem visibilem carnis substantiam de carne Virginis sumpsit; ratio vero conceptionis ejus non a semine virili, sed longe aliter ac desuper venit. S. Aug. de Gen. ad lit. l. x. c. 19.

of salvation for us in the house of his servant David." (Luke i. 69.) The woman of Canaan, the blind men sitting by the way, and those other blind that followed him, cried out, "Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou Son of David." (Matt. xv. 22. xx. 30. ix. 27.) The very children, out of whose mouths God perfected praise, were "crying in the temple, and saying, Hosannah to the Son of David." (Matt. xxi. 15.) And when the blind and dumb both spake and saw, "all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii. 23.) Thus by the public and concurrent testimonies of all the Jews, the promised Messiah was to come of the house and lineage of David; for "God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ to sit upon his throne."* It was therefore necessary we should believe that our Saviour "was made of the seed of David according to the flesh:" (Rom. i. 3.) of which we are assured, because he was born of that Virgin Mary who descended from him, and was espoused unto Joseph, who descended from the same, that thereby his genealogy might be known.

The consideration of all which will at last lead us to a clear explication of this latter branch of the article, whereby every Christian may inform himself what he is bound to profess, and being informed, fully express what is the object of his faith in this particular, when he saith, I believe in Jesus Christ which was *born of the Virgin Mary*. For hereby he is conceived to intend thus much: I assent unto this as a most certain and infallible truth, that there was a certain woman, known by the name of Mary, espoused unto Joseph of Nazareth, which before and after her espousals was a pure and unspotted virgin, and being and continuing in the same virginity, did, by the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, conceive within her womb the only-begotten Son of God, and, after the natural time of other women, brought him forth as her first-born son, continuing still a most pure and immaculate virgin; whereby the Saviour of the world was born of a woman under the law, without the least pretence of any original corruption, that he might deliver us from the guilt of sin; born of that Virgin which

* Acts ii. 30. Atqui hinc magis ratur in Psalmo ad David, "Ex fructu Christum intelligere debetis ex David ventris tui collocabo super thronum deputatum carnali genere, ob Mariæ Virginitatem." Tertul. l. iii. adv. Marcionem, c. 20. De hoc enim promisso ju-

was of the house and lineage of David, that he might sit upon his throne, and rule for evermore. And in this latitude I profess to believe in Jesus Christ, *born of the Virgin Mary.*

ARTICLE IV.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.

THIS article hath also received some accession in the particular expressions of Christ's humiliation. For the first word of it, now generally speaking of his passion, in the most ancient Creeds was no way distinguished from his crucifixion; for as we say, *suffered* and *crucified*, they only *crucified under Pontius Pilate*;* nor was his crucifixion distinguished from his death, but where we read, *crucified, dead, and buried*, they only, *crucified and buried*. Because the chief of his sufferings were on the cross, and he gave up the ghost there; therefore his whole passion and his death were comprehended in his crucifixion.

But again, being he suffered not only on the cross; being it was possible he might have been affixed to that cursed tree, and yet not have died; therefore the church thought fit to add the rest of his sufferings, as antecedent, and his death, as consequent to his crucifixion.

* Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus. *Ruffin. in Synb. Cassianus de incarn. Domini.* Credimus in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus. *S. August. de Fide et Synb. et de Trinitat. l. i. c. 14.* Caput nostrum Christus est, crucifixum et sepultum, resuscitatum ascendit in celum. *Idem. in Paul. cxxxii.* Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus. *Max. Taurin. Chrysol. Euseb. Gallic. Τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα, ταφέντα.* Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus, *MSS. Armach.* And besides these, a witness without exception, Leo the Great; "Unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum et sepultum, omnes etiam in Symbolo constitemur." *Epist. x. c. 5.* Afterwards the passion was expressed: "Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus." *Etherius Uzam.* And the death: "Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus," et sepultus. *Author. lib. de*

Symb. ad Catechum. Not but both these were expressed before in the rule of faith by Tertullian, but without particular mention of the crucifixion. *Adv. Prax. c. 2.* hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum: as Optatus, Passus, mortuus, et sepultus resurrexit. *lib. 1.* Passus, sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit. *Capital. Coroli 82.* And generally the ancients did understand determinately his crucifying, by that more comprehensive name of his suffering. For as Marcellus and St. Cyril have σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, Eusebius and the Nicene council to the same purpose, have παθόντα only in their Creeds. As Clem. Alex. *Padug. l. ii. c. 3.* Τὸν εἰς θεὸν πίστιν, τὸν εἰς παθόντα ἡμολογῶν. Which was further enlarged afterwards by the council of Constantinople into σταυρωθέντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα.

To begin then with his passion in general. In those words, *He suffered under Pontius Pilate*, we are to consider part as substantial, part as circumstantial. The substance of this part of the article consisteth in our Saviour's passion, *he suffered*: the circumstance of time is added, declared by the present governor, *under Pontius Pilate*.

Now for the explication of our Saviour's passion, as distinct from those particulars which follow in the article, more, I conceive, cannot be required, than that we shew, *who* it was that suffered, *how* he suffered, *what* it was he suffered.

First, if we could clearly understand him that suffered in his full relation to his passion, we must consider him both in his office, and his person; as Jesus Christ, and as the only-begotten Son of God. In respect of his office, we believe that he who was the Christ did suffer; and so we make profession to be saved by faith in a suffering Messiah. Of which, that we may give a just account, first, we must prove that the promised Messiah was to suffer: for if he were not, then by professing that our Jesus suffered, we should declare he was not Christ. Secondly, we must shew that Jesus, whom we believe to be the Messiah, did really and truly suffer: for if he did not, then while we proved the true Messiah was to suffer, we should conclude our Jesus was not that Messiah. Thirdly, it will be farther advantageous for the illustration of this truth, to manifest that the sufferings of the Messiah were determined and foretold, as those by which he should be known. And fourthly, it will then be necessary to shew that our Jesus did truly suffer whatsoever was determined and foretold. And more than this cannot be necessary to declare *who* it was that suffered, in relation to his office.

For the first of these, that the promised Messiah was to suffer, to all Christians it is unquestionable; because our Saviour did constantly instruct the apostles in this truth, both before his death, that they might expect it, (Mark ix. 12.) and, after, that they might be confirmed by it. Luke xxiv. 26, 46.) And one part of the doctrine which St. Paul disseminated through the world was this, "that the Christ must needs have suffered." (Acts xvii. 3.)

But because these testimonies will satisfy only such as believe in Jesus, and our Saviour himself did refer the dis-

believing Jews to the law and the prophets, as those who testified of him; we will shew from thence, even from the oracles committed to the Jews, "how it was written of the Son of man, that he must suffer many things," (Mark ix. 12.) and "how the Spirit of Christ which was in the prophets testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ." (1 Pet. i. 11.)

The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is beyond all question a sad, but clear, description of a suffering person: "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," oppressed, and afflicted, wounded, and bruised, brought to the slaughter, and cut off out of the land of the living. But the person of whom that chapter treateth was certainly the Messias, as we have formerly proved by the confession of the most ancient Jews, and may farther be evidenced both from them and from the place itself.* For surely no man's soul can be made an offer-

* Page 152. We shewed by the authority of the Targum, the Bereahith Rabba, and the Midrash upon Ruth, and by the confession of Solomon Jarchi and Moses Alsaboch, that the ancient rabbins did interpret that chapter of the Messias: which might seem a sufficient acknowledgment. But because this is the most considerable controversy between us and the Jews, it will not seem unnecessary to prove the same truth by further testimonies. In the Talmud Cod. Sanhedrin, to the question, *What is the name of the Messias?* it is answered, **חַיִּי וְקַיִר** the leper. And the reason of the name is there rendered **שְׂנֵאֵמֶר** because it is spoken in this Isa. liii. 4. "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken," i. e. **נִנְוֶה**. And because **הַנִּנְוֶה** is used of the leprosy, Levit. xiii. 13. therefore from **נִנְוֶה** they concluded his name to be a leper, and consequently did interpret that place of the Messias. In the *Pesikta* it is written, **הַצֵּיָא הִבֵּת נִשְׁמַת הַמָּשִׁיחַ** God produced the soul of the Messias—and said unto him, Wilt thou redeem my sons after six thousand years? He answered, I will. Wilt thou bear the chastisements, to take away their sins **הוּא דְבִתְיָב אֲכַן הִלְיִינוּ** **הוּא נִשָּׂא** as it is written, Isa. liii. 4. Surely he hath borne our griefs? And he answered, I will bear them with joy. Which is a clear testimony, considering the opinion of the Jews, that all souls of men were created in the beginning, and so the soul of the Messias to suffer

for the rest. The shift of the Jews, turning these expressions off from the Messias, and attributing of them to the people as to one, is something ancient: for we find that Origen was urged with that exposition, in a disputation with the Jews. *Μίσηται δὲ πῶτὶ ἐν τινὶ πρὸς τοὺς λυγρομένους παρὰ Ἰουδαίους σοφοὺς ἐκζητήσει ταύτας προφητείας ταύτας χρησάμενος* ἵφ' οἷς ἔλεγετο ὁ Ἰουδαίος, ταῦτα πεπορευμένους ἀς περὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ θλου καὶ γινόμενου ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ καὶ πληγῆτος, ἵνα πολλὰ προσήλυτοι γίνωνται τῇ προφᾶσει τοῦ ἐπιστάσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς πολλοῖς ἰδοῦσι. Thus the Jew interpreted those places, Isa. liii. 14. "His visage was so marred more than any man;" liii. 15. "that which had not been told them, they shall see;" liii. 3. "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief:" and applied them to the people of Israel in their dispersions. But Origen did easily refute him, by retorting other places of the same prophecy; as liii. 4. "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows;" ver. 5. "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, and with his stripes are we healed." *Σαφὺς γὰρ, says he, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις γίνονται, καὶ ἰαθῆναι, ἐκ τοῦ τὸν σωτήρα πεπορευμένους, ἵφ' ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλυθὲν εἶτα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδυνῶν, ταῦτα λέγουσι.* But especially he confounded the Jew with those words of the 8th verse, "He was cut off out of the land of the living, for the transgressions of my people was he stricken." *Μάλιστα δὲ ἰδόμενον εὐρίθην ἀπὸ τῆς φασκαύσεως λέγει τὸ, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἔχθη εἰς θάνατον. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ λαὸς κατὰ ἐκείνους σίστην οἱ πεπορευμένοι, πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν*

ing for our sins, but our Saviour's: nor hath God laid on any man the iniquity of us all, but on our Redeemer. Upon no person but the Messias could the chastisement of our peace be; nor with any stripes could we be healed but his. It is sufficiently then demonstrated by the prophet, that the suffering person whom he describes was to be the Christ, in that he bare our griefs, and carried our sorrows.

This prediction is so clear, ever since the serpent was to bruise the heel of the woman's seed, that the Jews, who were resolved to expect a Messias which should be only glorious, have been enforced to invent another, which should suffer. And then they answer us with a distinction of their own invention; that a Messias was to redeem us, and a Messias was to suffer for us: but the same Messias was not both to redeem us and to suffer for us. For they say that there are two several persons promised under the name of the Messias;* one of the tribe of Ephraim, the other of the tribe of Judah; one the son of Joseph, the other the son of David; the one to precede, fight, and suffer death, the other to follow, conquer, reign, and never to die. If then our Saviour were a Christ, we must confess he was a suffering Messias, and, consequently, according to their doctrine, not a Saviour. For if he were the son of David, then, say they, he was never to die; or if he ever died, he was not that Messias which was promised to sit upon the throne of David. And while we confess our Saviour died, and withal assert his de-

ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λήγεται ἡχθαι εἰς
θάνατον οὗτος, εἰ μὴ ἕτερος ὢν παρὰ τὸν λαόν
τοῦ Θεοῦ; τίς δ' οὗτος εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός;
Origen. adv. Celsum, l. i.

* So indeed the Jews expected a
double Messias, one משיח בן יוסף
Messias the son of Joseph, the other
משיח בן דוד Messias the son of David.

See the Targum expressly upon Canticles,
iv. 5. תרין פריקים דעתידין למפריק
משיח בר דוד ומשיח בר אפרים

Two are thy deliverers which shall deliver
thee, Messias the son of David, and Messias
the son of Ephraim: and in the same man-
ner, chap. vii. 3. This that paraphrast,
nothing so ancient as the rest, is conceived
to have taken out of the Talmud in Mas-
secheth Succa, where cap. 5. inscribed

החליל, God saith to Messias the son of
David, שאל מה אתה מבקש. Ask

what thou wilt (according to the second
Psalm), and I will give it thee. כִּי־

שרואה למשיח בן יוסף שנהרג

Who seeing the Messias the son of Joseph
which was slain, asked of God nothing but
life. Thus from the Talmud and the latter
Targum, the rabbins have generally
taught a double Messias, one the son of
David, the other of Joseph. As Solomon
Jarchi, Isa. xxiv. 18. Zach. xii. 10. Aben
Ezra, Zech. ix. 9. Malachi iii. 1. Kimchi,
Zach. xii. 10. whom the latter Jews con-
stantly follow. And this Marcion the
heretic seems to have learned of the Jews,
and to have taught with some alteration
in favour of his own opinion. "Constituit
Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberi-
anis temporibus a Deo quondam ignoto
revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium;
alium, qui a Deo creatore in restitutionem
Judaioi status sit destinatus quandoque
venturus." Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. iv.
c. 6.

ascent from the house of David, we do, in their opinion, involve ourselves in a contradiction.

But this distinction of a double Messiah is far from prevailing over our belief: first, because it is in itself false, and therefore of no validity against us; secondly, because it was first invented to counterfeit the truth, and so very advantageous to us.

That it is in itself false, will appear, because the Scriptures never mention any Messiah of the tribe of Ephraim, neither was there ever any promise of that nature made to any of the sons or offspring of Joseph. Besides, as we acknowledge but one Mediator between God and man, so the Scriptures never mention any Messiah but one. Under whatsoever title he is represented to us, there can be no pretence for a double person. Whether the seed of the woman, or the seed of Abraham, whether Shiloh, or the son of David, still one person promised: and the style of the ancient Jews before our Saviour was, not they, but he, *which is to come*.* The question which was asked him, when he professed himself to be Christ, was, whether it was he which was to come, or whether they were to look for another? Not that they could look for him, and for another also. The objection then was, that Elias was not yet come, and therefore they expected no Messiah till Elias came. Nor can the difference of the Messiah's condition be any true reason of imagining a double person, because in the same place the prophets, (Zech. ix. 9. Isai. ix. 6.) speaking of the same person indifferently, represent him in either condition. Being then, by the confession of all the Jews, one Messiah was to be the son of David, whom Elias was to precede; being by the tenour of the Scriptures, there was never promise made of more Christs than one, and never the least mention of the tribe of Ephraim with any such relation; it followeth, that that distinction is in itself false.

Again, that the same distinction, framed and contrived against us, must needs be in any indifferent person's judgment advantageous to us, will appear, because the very invention of a double person is a plain confession of a twofold condition; and the different relations, which they prove not, are a convincing argument for the distinct economies, which they deny not. Why should they pretend to expect

* *to appear.*

one to die, and another to triumph, but that the true Messias was both to triumph and to die, to be humbled, and to be exalted, to put on the rags of our infirmity before the robe of majesty and immortality? Why should they tell of one Mediator to be conquered, and the other to be victorious, but that the serpent was to bruise the heel of the seed of the woman, and the same seed to bruise his head? Thus, even while they endeavour to elude, they confirm our faith; and, as if they were still under the cloud, their error is but as a shadow to give a lustre to our truth. And so our first assertion remaineth firm; the Messias was to suffer.

Secondly, That Jesus, whom we believe to be Christ, did suffer, we shall not need to prove, because it is freely confessed by all his enemies. The gentiles acknowledged it; the Jews triumphed at it. And we may well take that for granted, which is so far from being denied, that it is objected. If hunger and thirst, if revilings and contempt, if sorrows and agonies, if stripes and buffetings, if condemnation and crucifixion, be sufferings, Jesus suffered. If the infirmities of our nature, if the weight of our sins, if the malice of man, if the machinations of Satan, if the hand of God could make him suffer, our Saviour suffered. If the annals of times, if the writings of his apostles, if the death of his martyrs, if the confession of the gentiles, if the scoffs of the Jews, be testimonies, Jesus suffered. Nor was there ever any which thought he did not really and truly suffer, but such as withal irrationally pretended he was not really and truly man.*

* Those which were called by the Greeks *Δωμναι* and *Φαντασμαται*, who taught that Christ was man only putative, and came into the world only in phantasmate, and consequently that he did only putative pati. These were called *Δωμναι*, not from their author, but from their opinion, that Christ did all things only in *δόμναι*, in appearance, not reality. As Clemens Alexandrinus, *Τῶν αἰρέσεων αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ λογμάτων διακρίτων παραγερσόμεναι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δωμνῶν*. Strom. l. vii. viz. *οἱ δὲ θεοῦ Χριστὸν παραγερσόμεναι ἐν δόμναις*. Id. l. vi. Neque in phantasia, id est, absque carne, sicut Valentinus assorit, neque de thesi, putative imaginatum, sed verum corpus. Gemad. de Eccl. Dog. c. 2. Where, for *de thesi*, I suppose we should read *δομναι*. The original of this train of heretics is to be fetched from Simon Ma-

gus, whose assertion was, "Christum nec venisse, nec a Judæis quicquam pertulisse." S. Aug. de Heres. Wherefore making himself the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he affirmed, "se in Filii persona putative apparuisse," and so that he suffered as the Son amongst the Jews; *ἀλλοῦτε μὲν πικροῦνται δὲ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον*. Damasc. de Heres. Now what Simon Magnus said of himself, when he made himself the Son, that those who followed affirmed of Christ. As Saturninus, who taught "Christum in substantia non fuisse, et phantasmate tantum quasi passum fuisse." Tertul. de Pres. adv. Heret. c. 46. Vide Epiph. mutilum, Her. 23. c. 1. And Basilides, who delivered, *εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν φαντασίαν ἐν τῷ φαίνομαι, μὴ εἶναι δὲ ἀδύνατον, μηδὲ σάρκα εἰληφέναι*—ὅχι? *Ἰσχυὸν φάσαν σαρκοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῆμνον τὸν Κυριανόν*. Epiph. Her.

Thirdly, To come yet nearer to the particular acknowledgment of this truth, we shall further shew, that the promised Messiah was not only engaged to suffer for us, but by a certain and express agreement betwixt him and the Father, the measure and manner of his sufferings were determined, in order to the redemption itself which was thereby to be wrought; and what was so resolved, was before his coming in the flesh revealed to the prophets, and written by them, in order to the reception of the Messiah, and the acceptance of the benefits to be procured by his sufferings.

That what the Messiah was to undergo for us was predetermined and decreed, appeareth by the timely acknowledgment of the church unto the Father: "Of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together;" For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done." (Acts iv. 27, 28.) For as when the two goats were presented before the Lord, that goat was to be offered for a sin-offering, upon which the lot of the Lord should fall; and that lot of the Lord was lift up on high in the hand of the high-priest, and then laid upon the head of the goat which was to die: (Lev. xvi. 8.) so the *hand* of God is said to have *determined* what should be done unto our Saviour, whose passion was typified by that sin-offering. And well may we say that the *hand* of God, as well as his *counsel*, *determined* his passion, because he was "delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God." (Acts ii. 23.)

And this determination of God's counsel was thus made upon a covenant or agreement between the Father and the Son, in which it was concluded by them both what he should suffer, what he should receive. For beside the covenant made by God with man, confirmed by the blood of Christ,

24. c. 3. A Judeis non credunt Christum crucifixum, sed Simonem Cyrenensem, qui angariatus sustulit crucem ejus. *S. Aug. Her. 4.* Thus the Valentinians, particularly Marcus, the father of the Marcosian heretics, "Marcus etiam nescio quis Hæresim condidit, negans resurrectionem carnis, et Christum non vere, sed putative, passum asseverans." *S. Aug. Her. 14.* Thus Cerdon: "Christum in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronunciat, nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum." *Tertul. Præc. c. 51.* "Christum ipsam naturam ex femina, neque habuisse carnem, nec vere mortuum, vel quicquam passum, sed simulasse passionem. *S. Aug. Her. 21.* And the Manichees, who taught "Christum non fuisse in carne vera, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse; ubi non solum mortem, verum etiam resurrectionem mentiretur." *Idem. Her. 46.* Whom therefore Vincentius Lirinensis calls *phantasie prædicatores*, c. 20.

we must consider and acknowledge another covenant from eternity, made by the Father with the Son. Which partly is expressed, "If he shall make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days;" (Isai. liii. 10.) partly by the apostle, "Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God." (Heb. x. 7.) In the condition of "making his soul an offering for sin," we see propounded whatsoever he suffered; in the acceptance, "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God," we see undertaken whatsoever was propounded. The determination therefore of our Saviour's passion was made by covenant of the Father who sent, and the Son who suffered.

And as the sufferings of the Messiah were thus agreed on by consent, and determined by the counsel of God; so they were revealed by the Spirit of God unto the prophets, and by them delivered unto the church: they were involved in the types, and acted in the sacrifices. Whether therefore we consider the prophecies spoken by God in the mouths of men, they clearly relate unto his sufferings by proper prediction; or whether we look upon the ceremonial performances, they exhibit the same by an active representation. St. Paul's apology was clear, that he said "none other things but those which the prophets and Moses did say should come, that Christ should suffer." (Acts xxvi. 22.) The prophets *said* in express terms, that the Messiah, whom they foretold, should suffer: Moses *said* so in those ceremonies which were instituted by his ministry. When he caused the passover to be slain, he said that Shiloh was the Lamb slain before the foundations of the world. When he set the brazen serpent up in the wilderness, he *said*, the Son of man should be lifted up upon the cross. When he commanded all the sacrifices for sin, he *said*, without effusion of blood there was no remission, and therefore the Son of God must die for the sins of men. When he appointed Aaron to go into the holy of holies on the day of atonement, he *said*, Christ, our high-priest, should never enter through the veil into the highest heavens, to make expiation for us, but by his own blood. If then we look upon the fountain, the eternal counsel of the will of God; if we look upon the revelation of that counsel, either in express predictions, or ceremonial representations, we shall clearly see the truth of our third

assertion, that the sufferings of the promised Messiah were predetermined and foretold.

Now all these sufferings which were thus agreed, determined, and revealed, as belonging to the true Messiah, were undergone by that Jesus of Nazareth, whom we believe to be the true Christ. Never was there any suffering type which he outwent not, never prediction of any passion which he fulfilled not, never any expression of grief and sorrow which he felt not. When the appointed time of his death approached, he said to his apostles, "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished." (Luke xviii. 31.) When he delivered them the blessed sacrament, the commemoration of his death, he said, "Truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined." (Luke xxii. 22. *κατὰ τὸ ὁρισμένον*.) After his resurrection, he chastised the dulness of his disciples, who were so overwhelmed with his passion, that they could not look back upon the antecedent predictions; saying unto them, "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?" (Luke xxiv. 25, 26.) After his ascension, St. Peter made this profession before the Jews, who had those prophecies, and saw his sufferings, "Those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled." (Acts iii. 18.) Whatsoever therefore was determined by the counsel of God; whatsoever was revealed by the prophets concerning the sufferings of the Messiah, was all fulfilled by that Jesus whom we believe to be, and worship as the Christ. Which is the fourth and last assertion propounded to express our Saviour's passion, in relation to his office.

Having considered him that *suffered* in his office, we are next to consider him in his person. And being in all this article there is no person expressly named or described, we must look back upon the former, till we find his description and his name. The article immediately preceding leaves us in the same suspension; but for our satisfaction refers us to the former, where we find him named *Jesus*, and described *the only-begotten Son of God*.

Now this Son of God we have already shewn to be therefore truly called the *only-begotten*, because he was from all

eternity generated of the essence of the Father, and therefore is, as the eternal Son, so also the eternal God. Wherefore by the immediate coherence of the articles, and necessary consequence of the CREED,* it plainly appeareth, that the eternal Son of God, God of God, very God of very God, *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried.* For it was no other person who *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, than he who was *born of the Virgin Mary*: he who was *born of the Virgin Mary*, was no other person than he *who was conceived by the Holy Ghost*: he *who was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, was no other person than *our Lord*; and that *our Lord* no other than the *only Son of God*: therefore by the immediate coherence of the articles it followeth, that *the only Son of God, our Lord, suffered under Pontius Pilate.* That Word which was in the beginning, which then was with God, and was God, in the fulness of time being made flesh, did suffer. For the princes of this world “crucified the Lord of glory;” (1 Cor. ii. 8.) and “God purchased his church with his own blood.”† That person who was begotten of the Father before all worlds, and so was really the *Lord of glory*, and most truly *God*, took upon him the nature of man, and in that nature being still the same person which before he was, did suffer. When our Saviour fasted forty days, there was no other person hungry, than that Son of God who made the world: when he sat down weary by the well, there was no other person felt that thirst, but he which was eternally begotten of the Father, the fountain of the Deity: when he was buffeted and scourged, there was no other person sensible of those pains, than that eternal Word which before all worlds was impassible: when he was crucified and died, there was no other person which gave up the ghost, but the Son of him, and so of the same nature with him, “who only hath immortality.” And thus we conclude our first consideration propounded, viz. who it was that suffered; affirming that, in respect of his office, it was the *Messias*; in respect of his person, it was *God the Son*.

But the perfect probation and illustration of this truth requireth, first a view of the second particular propounded,

* This is that *inseparabilis connexio* in the Creed, which Cassianus urgeth so much against Nestorius, *De Incarn. l. vi.* quam Dominum glorie crucifixissent.

† Acts xx. 28. Dominum passum sym-
boli tenet autoritas, et Apostolus tradit, dicens, Si enim cognovissent, quam Dominum glorie crucifixissent. Vigil advers. Eutych. l. ii.

How, or in what he *suffered*. For while we prove the person suffering to be God, we may seem to deny the passion, of which the perfection of the Godhead is incapable. The Divine nature is of infinite and eternal happiness, never to be disturbed by the least degree of infelicity, and therefore subject to no sense of misery. Wherefore while we profess that the Son of God did suffer for us, we must so far explain our assertion, as to deny that the Divine nature of our Saviour suffered. For being the Divine nature of the Son is common to the Father and the Spirit, if that had been the subject of his passion, then must the Father and the Spirit have suffered. Wherefore as we ascribe the passion to the Son alone, so must we attribute it to that nature which is his alone, that is, the human. And then neither the Father nor the Spirit will appear to suffer, because neither the Father nor the Spirit, but the Son alone, is man, and so capable of suffering.

Whereas then the humanity of Christ consisteth of a soul and body, these were the proper subject of his passion; nor could he suffer any thing but in both or either of these two. For as the "Word was made flesh," though the Word was never made* (as being in the beginning God), but the flesh, that is, the humanity, was made, and the Word assuming it became flesh: so saith St. Peter, "Christ suffered for us in the flesh," (1 Pet. iv. 1.) in that nature of man which he took upon him: and so God the Son did suffer, not in that nature in which he was begotten of the Father before all worlds, but in that flesh which by his incarnation he became. For he was "put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit;"† suffered in the weakness of his humanity, but rose by the power of his Divinity. As "he was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh," in the language of St. Paul; so was he "put to death in the flesh," in the language of St. Peter: and as he was "declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness;" so was he "quickened by the Spirit."

* Ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ἵνα καὶ ὁ λόγος αἰεὶ ᾖ λόγος, καὶ σάρκα ἔχη ὁ λόγος· ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ θάνατον ἀνεδίκατον, ἐν μορφῇ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μέχρι θανάτου, καὶ ἔθου ὑπεβίβας. S. Athanas. de Incarnat.

† 1 Pet. iii. 18. Adeo salva est utriusque proprietates substantiæ, ut et Spiritus res suas egerit in illo, id est, virtutes et opera et signa, et caro passionibus suis functa sit, esuriens sub Diabolo, sitiens sub Samaritide, flens Lazarum, anxia usque ad mortem, denique et mortua est. Tertul. advers. Prax. c. 27. Clement. Alex. Pedagog. l. i. c. 5. 91. c.

Thus the proper subject and recipient of our Saviour's passion, which he underwent for us, was that nature which he took from us.

Far be it therefore from us to think, that the Deity, which is immutable, could suffer; which only hath immortality, could die. The conjunction with humanity could put no imperfection upon the Divinity; nor can that infinite nature by any external acquisition be any way changed in its intrinsic and essential perfections.* If the bright rays of the sun are thought to insinuate into the most noisome bodies, without any pollution of themselves, how can that spiritual essence contract the least infirmities by any union with humanity?† We must neither harbour so low an estimation of the Divine nature, as to conceive it capable of any diminution; nor so mean esteem of the essence of the Word, as to imagine it subject to the sufferings of the flesh he took; nor yet so groundless an estimation of the great mystery of the incarnation, as to make the properties of one nature mix in confusion with another. These were the wild collections of the Arian and Apollinarian heretics,‡ whom the church hath long since silenced by a sound and sober assertion, That all the sufferings of our Mediator were subjected in his human nature.

* Τὸ γὰρ φύσις ἀφάρτερον καὶ ἀνυπατάστον αἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, οὐ συναλλοιούμενον τῇ ταπεινῇ φύσει, ὅταν ἐν ἐκλήτῃ κατὰ οἰκονομίαν γίνηται. *Greg. Nyssæn. Epist.*

† Ὡς οὐδ' ἡλιακοῦ φωτός πάθοιν τι ἐκ τῆς τὰ πάντα πληροῦσαι, καὶ σωμάτων κερῶν καὶ οὐ καθαρῶν ἰφαιγόμενοι; πολλὸ πλέον ἢ ἀσώματος τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις οὐτ' ἐν πλάτει τὴν οὐσίαν, οὐδ' ἐν βλαβερῇ σώματος ἀσωμάτως ἰσχυομένη. *Euseb. Démon. Evang. l. iv. c. 13.*

‡ This danger is the rather to be unfolded, because it is not generally understood. The heresy of Arius, as it was condemned by the council of Nice, is known to all. But that he made the nature of the Word to suffer in the flesh, is not so frequently or plainly delivered. This Phœbadius (the first of the Latin church who wrote against the Arians) chargeth them with. "Duplicem hunc statum, non conjunctum sed confusum, vultis videri; ut etiam unius vestrum, id est Epistola Potami, quæ ad Orientem et Occidentem transmissa est, quæ asserit, carne et spiritu Christi coagulatis per sanguinem Mariæ, et in unum corpus redactis, passibilem Deum factum. Hoc ideo, ne quis illum ex eo crederet, quem

impassibilem satis constat." *Lib. adv. Arianos, c. 7.* And again, "Non erga est spiritus caro, nec caro spiritus, quod isti volunt egregii Doctores, ut factus sit scilicet Dominus et Deus noster ex hac substantiarum permixtione passibilis. Ideo autem passibilem volunt dici, ne ex impassibili credatur." *cap. 8. Μάτριν οὖν Ἀριανοὶ φαντάσσονται, σάρκα μόνον ὑποτιθέμενοι ἀνυπατάσθαι τὸν Σωτῆρα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πλάτους ἡσίου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαθείαν διέκτορα ἀναφέροντες ἀσώτως. S. Athan. lib. de Incarn.* Of this St. Hilary is to be understood: "Sed eorum omnis hic sensus, ut opinentur metum mortis in Dei Filium incidisse, qui asserunt non de æternitate prolatum, neque de infinitate paternæ substantiæ exstitisse, sed ex nullo illum qui omnis creavit effectum; ut assumptus ex nihilo sit, et cæptus ex opere et confirmatus ex tempore. Et ideo in eo doloris anxietas, ideo spiritus passio cum corporis passione." *Can. 51. in Matt.* Where clearly he argues against the Arians. The right understanding whereof, is the only true way to reconcile those harsh sayings of his, which so troubled the master of the sentences, and the whole schools ever since.

And now the only difficulty will consist in this, how we can reconcile the person suffering, with the subject of his passion; how we can say that God did suffer, when we profess the Godhead suffered not. But this seeming difficulty will admit an easy solution, if we consider the intimate conjunction of the Divine and human nature, and their union in the person of the Son. For hereby those attributes which properly belong unto the one, are given to the other; and that upon good reason.* For being the same individual person is, by the conjunction of the nature of God, and the nature of man, really and truly both God and man; it necessarily followeth, that it is true to say, *God is man*, and as true, *A man is God*; because in this particular, he which is man is God, and he which is God is man. Again, being by reason of the incarnation it is proper to say, *God is man*, it followeth unavoidably, that whatsoever necessarily belongeth to the human nature, may be spoken of God; otherwise there would be a man to whom the nature of man did not belong, which were a contradiction. And being by virtue of the same incarnation it is also proper to say, *A man is God*, by the same necessity of consequence we must acknowledge, that all the essential attributes of the Divine nature may truly be spoken of that man; otherwise there would be one truly and properly God, to whom the nature of God did not belong, which is a clear repugnancy. Again, if the properties of the Divine nature may be truly attributed to that man which is God, then may those actions which flow from those properties, be attributed to the same. And being the properties of the human nature may be also attributed to the eternal Son of God, those actions or passions which did proceed from those properties, may be attributed to the same Son of God, or God the Son. Wherefore as God the Son is truly man, and as man truly passible and mortal; so God the Son did truly suffer, and did truly die. And this is the only true communication of properties.†

Not that the essential properties of one nature are really

* Per indissolubilem unitatem Verbi et carnis omnia quæ carnis sunt ascribantur et verbo, quomoda et quæ verbi sunt prædicantur in carne. Orig. in Ep. ad Rom. Διὰ τὴν ἀπρόβητον ἑνότητα τῆς τοῦ ἀποστολικῆς οὐρακὲς καὶ τῆς προσηλαβημένης θεότητος, ἀνυμειδιώμεναι τὰ ἰδιώματα θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀδελφικὸν τῷ Σαῦλ, καὶ τὸ Σαῦλ τῷ

ἀδελφικόν, κατανυμώμεναι. Greg. Nyss. Ep. ad. Theoph. Χρὶς μόνον εἰδικὸς ἐς τὸ φρονεῖν κατὰ νοῦν τὰ ἰδιώματα. Theodor. Dial. S.

† Called by the schools ordinarily communicatio idiomatum, by the ancient Greek divines Ἀντιστοιχείαι, and sometimes Ἀντιστοιχισμοί.

communicated to the other nature, as if the Divinity of Christ were passible and mortal, or his humanity of original omnipotence and omnipresence; but because the same God the Son was also the Son of man, he was at the same time both mortal and eternal: mortal as the Son of man, in respect of his humanity; eternal, as the Son of God, in respect of his Divinity. The sufferings therefore of the Messias were the sufferings of God the Son: not that they were the sufferings of his Deity, as of which that was incapable; but the sufferings of his humanity, as unto which that was inclinable. For although the human nature was conjoined to the Divine, yet it suffered as much as if it had been alone; and the Divine as little suffered, as if it had not been conjoined: because each kept their respective properties distinct, without the least confusion in their most intimate conjunction. From whence at last the person suffering is reconciled to the subject of his passion: for God the Son being not only God, but also man, suffered, though not in his Deity, by reason of which he is truly God; yet in his humanity, by which he who is truly God, is as truly man. And thus we conclude our two first disquisitions: Who it was that suffered; in respect of his office, the Messias; in respect of his person, God the Son: how it was he suffered; not in his Deity, which is impassible; but in his humanity, which he assumed, clothed with our infirmities.

Our next inquiry is, What this God the Son did suffer, as the Son of man; not in the latitude of all his sufferings, but so far as they are comprehended in this article: which first prescindeth all the antecedent part, by the expression of time *under Pontius Pilate*, who was not governor of Judea long before our Saviour's baptism; and then takes off his concluding passion, by adding his crucifixion and his death. Looking then upon the sufferings of our Saviour in the time of his preaching the gospel, and especially before his death, we shall best understand them, by considering them in relation to the subject or recipient of them. And being we have already shewed his passion was wholly subjected in his human nature, being that nature consisteth of two parts, the soul and body; it will be necessary to declare what he suffered in the body, what in the soul.

For the first, As we believe the Son of God took upon him the nature of man, of which the body is a part; so we ac-

knowledge that he took a true and real body, so as to become flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone. This body of Christ, really and truly human, was also frail and mortal, as being accompanied with all those natural properties which necessarily flow from the condition of a frail and mortal body: and though now the same body, exalted above the highest heavens, by virtue of its glorification, be put beyond all possibility of passion; yet in the time of his humiliation, it was clothed with no such glorious perfection; but as it was subject unto, so it felt weariness, hunger, and thirst. Nor was it only liable to those internal weaknesses and natural infirmities, but to all outward injuries and violent impressions. As all our corporal pain consists in that sense which ariseth from the solution of that continuity which is connatural to the parts of our body; so no parts of his sacred body were injuriously violated by any outward impression, but he was truly and fully sensible of the pain arising from that violation. Deep was that sense, and grievous was that pain which those scourges produced, when "the ploughers ploughed upon his back, and made long their furrows:" the dilaceration of those nervous parts created a most sharp and dolorous sensation. The coronary thorns did not only express the scorn of the imposers, by that figure into which they were contrived, but did also pierce his tender and sacred temples to a multiplicity of pains, by their numerous acuminations. That spear directed by an impertinent malice, which opened his side, though it brought forth water and blood, caused no dolorous sensation, because the body was then dead; but the nails which pierced his hands and feet, made another kind of impression, while it was yet alive and highly sensible. Thus did the body of the Son of man truly *suffer* the bitterness of corporal pains and torments inflicted by violent external impressions.

As our Saviour took upon him both parts of the nature of man, so he *suffered* in them both, that he might be a Saviour of the whole.* In what sense the soul is capable of suffering, in that he was subject to animal passion. Evil apprehended to come, tormented his soul with fear, which was as truly in him, in respect of what he was to suffer, as hope in reference to the recompence of a reward to come after, and for, his sufferings. Evil apprehended at present, tor-

* Qui suscepit animam, suscepit animæ passionem. S. Ambrose de Fide. l. ii. c. 3.

mented the same with sadness, sorrow, and anguish of mind. So that he was truly represented to us by the prophet, as "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief;" (Isai. liii. 3.) and the proper subject of that grief he hath fully expressed, who alone felt it, saying unto his disciples, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." (Matt. xxvi. 38.)

We ought not, therefore, to question whether he suffered in his soul or no; but rather to endeavour to reach, if it were possible, the knowledge how far, and in what degree, he suffered: how bitter that grief, how great that sorrow and that anguish was. Which though we can never fully and exactly measure; yet we may infallibly know thus much, both from the expressions of the Spirit of God, and from the occasion of his sufferings, that the griefs and sorrows which he felt, and the anguish which he underwent, were most incomparably far beyond all sorrows, of which any person here was sensible or capable.

The evangelists have in such language expressed his agony, as cannot but raise in us the highest admiration at the bitterness of that passion. "He began to be sorrowful," saith St. Matthew (xxvi. 37.) "He began to be sore amazed," saith St. Mark (xiv. 33.) "and to be very heavy," say both: and yet these words in our translation come far short of the original expression,* which render him sud-

* The words in the original are three, λυπῶσθαι, ἰθαμβῶσθαι, and ἀδυστοῦν. Λυπῶσθαι the first is of a known and ordinary signification, but in this case it is to be raised to the highest degree of its possible significancy, as appears by the words which follow, περιλυτός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου. For, as the ancient grammarians observe, ἡ (περὶ) πρόθεσις ἐπίτασιν διπλοῦ· and again, ἡ (περὶ) πρόθεσις λαμβάνεται ἀπὸ τῆς (ἐν)τός κατὰ λόγον ὑπερδύσεως καὶ περιττότητος; and therefore περιλυτός of itself must signify a man possessed with an excessive grief; as in Hesychius, περιβαρὺ κρίος, that is, according to the scholiast, περιμωσὺς βαρὺ. But beside this Greek notation, here is to be observed a reference to the words of David, Psal. xlii. 5. Ἰνατὶ περιλυτός εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ μου; **מְהַרְהָרָה**. So that it doth not only signify an excess of sorrow surrounding and encompassing the soul; but also such as brings a consternation and dejection of mind, bowing the soul under the pressure and burden of it. And if nei-

ther the notation of the word, nor the relation to that place in the Psalms, did express that sorrow, yet the following part of our Saviour's words would sufficiently evidence it, ἔως θανάτου, it was a sorrow which like the pangs of death compassed him, and like the pains of hell got hold upon him, Psalm cxvi. 3. The second word used by St. Mark alone, is ἰθαμβῶσθαι, which with the vulgar Latin is *pavere*, but in the language of the Greeks bears a higher sense. Θάμβος σημαίνει τὴν ἐκπληξιν, says Etymologus: and Hesychius, Θάμβος, δαῦμα, ἐκπληξις. Gloss. Vet. Θάμβος, stupor. Philoponus, preserved by Eustathius ἡ. μ'. Θάμβος μιν ἡ ἐκπληξις· θαμβός δὲ κατ' ἑξῆς τάν τιν' ἐκπληγαίς. From whence the verb θαμβῶν, in termination active, in signification passive, *percussus esse*, in Homer, δαμβῶσιν δ' Ἀχιλλεύς where it is the observation of Eustathius, τὸ ἰθαμβῶσιν ἐκπληκτὸν ἢ πᾶν τῶν χεῖρος οὐκ ἔχει θαμβῶμεν γὰρ, καὶ ἰθαμβῶν, καὶ τιθαμβοῦμαι, φασὶν εἶ μεθ' Ὀμήρου but not universally true. For (as to our purpose) we have both the use and sense of this word in the Old

denly, upon a present and immediate apprehension, possessed with fear, horror, and amazement, encompassed with grief, and overwhelmed with sorrow, pressed down with consternation and dejection of mind, tormented with anxiety and disquietude of spirit.

This he first expressed to his disciples, saying, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful;" and lest they should not fully apprehend the excess, adding, "even unto death," as if the pangs of death had already encompassed him, and, as the Psalmist speaks, the pains of hell had got hold upon him. He went but a little farther before he expressed the same to his Father, falling on his face and praying, even "with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death." (Heb. v. 7.) Nor were his cries or tears sufficient evidences of his inward sufferings, nor could the sorrows of his breast be poured forth either at his lips or eyes; the innumerable pores of all his body must give a passage to more lively representations of the bitter anguish of his soul; and therefore while he "prayed more earnestly," in that agony "his sweat was at it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground." As the Psalmist had before declared, "I am

Testament. As 1 Sam. xiv. 15. יָרִיבָהּ וַיִּרְחַק, and ἰδάρχοντο ἡ γῆ, and the earth quaked. And Psalm xlviii. 5. וַיִּרְחַק, Aquila, ἰδάρχοντο, Symmachus, ἰξιδάχοντο as Psalm xxxi. 22. Ἐγὼ διέπτα ἐν τῇ ἐκτόφῃ μου; Aquila, θαμβήσῃ; Symmachus, ἐκπλήξῃ. The like is also in the passive termination: as Daniel expresses his fear in a vision, ἰδάρχῃσθαι, καὶ πᾶντο ἐπὶ πρόσωπον μου, Dan. viii. 17. and the wicked are described by the wise man, θαμβήσονται διπῆς, καὶ ἰνδάλμασιν ἐκταρασσόμενοι, Sep. 17. 3. From whence it appeareth, that θαμβήσθαι of itself signifieth a high degree of fear, horror, and amazement. Gloss. Vet. θαμβήσας, obstupescere, stupescere, pavesco. And by the addition of the preposition ἰξ the signification is augmented. Ἐκθαμβός, ἐκπληκτός, Hesych. passively; Θερῶν φόβῳ καὶ ἐκθαμβῶν. Dan. vii. 7. actively, i. e. ἐκπληκτικός. Such an augmentation in this word is justifiable by that rule left us in Eustathius, ad Iliad. ε. ε (ἰξ) ἀπὸ δυνάμεως οὐ μόνον τὴν ἰξ διὰ τὸ σθένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὰς σημαίνει. Of which he gives an example in ἐκπληκτός, used by Aristophanes in Pluto, though not named by him. And again, ad Iliad. ε. ε (ἰξ) ἀπὸ δυνάμεως ἐκπληκτός διὰ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὸ μέγιστον. Ἐκθαμβήσθαι

therefore is μέγιστον θαμβήσθαι, to be surprised with horror in the highest degree, even unto stupefaction. Gloss. Vet. Ἐκθαμβήσας, obstupescere. The third word is ἄδημον, Vulg. Lat. tædere in St. Mark, mæstus esse in St. Matthew: but it hath yet a farther sense. Ἄδημος, ἀνδία, ἀγωνίῃ, says Hesychius. Ἄδημος, τὸ λανυσοῦμαι, Suidas. It signifieth therefore grief and anguish in excess, as appeareth also by the origination of it. For, as Eustathius observes, τοῦ ἀδημονῆν προτέτυπον ἀδήμον ἀδήματος, ὃ ἐκ λύπης ὡς οὐ καὶ τινος κέρου, ὃς ἄλδος λίγεται, ἀνασπαστικός. Iliad. λ'. From ἀδῶ ἀδῶσα ἀδήμον, from ἀδήμον ἀδημονῶ. It hath therefore in it the signification of ἀδῶ or λαν, satiety, or extremity. From whence it is ordinarily so expounded, as if it contained the consequence of the greatest fear or sorrow, that is, anxiety of mind, disquietude, and restlessness. Ἀδημονῶν, ἀλυσεν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ἀμυχανῖν, Etymol. As Antony is expressed by Plutarch, after the loss of 8,000 men, being in want of all things necessary for the rest, Κλαυπηγὰν περιέμειναι, καὶ βραδυπόνησιν, ἀδημονῶν ἦναι. So where the Heb. עָמַשׁ is by the LXX. translated ἐκπληκτός, by Symmachus it is rendered ἀδημονῶς, Euseb. vii. 16.

poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels." (Psal. xxii. 14.) The heart of our Saviour was as it were melted with fear and astonishment, and all the parts of his body at the same time inflamed with anguish and agony; well then might that melting produce a sweat, and that inflamed and rarified blood force a passage through the numerous pores.

And as the evangelists' expressions, so the occasion of the grief, will manifest the height and bitterness thereof: For God *laid on his own Son the iniquities of us all*; and as we are obliged to be sorry for our particular sins, so was he grieved for the sins of us all. If then we consider the perfection and latitude of his knowledge; he understood all the sins of men for which he suffered, all the evil and the guilt, all the offence against the majesty, and ingratitude against the goodness of God, which was contained in all those sins. If we look upon his absolute conformity to the will of God; he was inflamed with most ardent love, he was most zealous of his glory, and most studious to preserve that right which was so highly violated by those sins. If we look upon his relation to the sons of men; he loved them all far more than any did themselves, he knew those sins were of themselves sufficient to bring eternal destruction on their souls and bodies; he considered them whom he so much loved, as lying under the wrath of God, whom he so truly worshipped. If we reflect upon those graces which were without measure diffused through his soul, and caused him with the greatest habitual detestation to abhor all sin; if we consider all these circumstances, we cannot wonder at that grief and sorrow. For if the true contrition of one single sinner, bleeding under the sting of the law only for his own iniquities, all which notwithstanding he knoweth not, cannot be performed without great bitterness of sorrow and remorse; what bounds can we set unto that grief, what measures to that anguish, which proceedeth from a full apprehension of all the transgressions of so many millions of sinners?

Add unto all these present apprehensions, the immediate hand of God pressing upon him all this load, laying on his shoulders at once a heap of all the sorrows which can happen unto any of the saints of God; that he, being "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," (Heb. ii. 17,

18.) might become a "merciful high-priest, able and willing to succour them that are tempted." (Heb. iv. 15.) Thus may we "behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto that sorrow which was done unto him, wherewith the Lord afflicted him in the day of his fierce anger." (Lam. i. 12.) And from hence we may and must conclude, that the Saviour of man, as he took the whole nature of man, so he suffered in whatsoever he took; in his body, by internal infirmities and external injuries; in his soul, by fears and sorrows, by unknown and inexpressible anguishes. Which shews us fully (if it can be shewn) the third particular propounded, what our Saviour suffered.

That our Saviour did thus *suffer*, is most necessary to believe. First, That thereby we may be assured of the verity of his human nature. For if he were not man, then could not man be redeemed by him; and if that nature in which he appeared were not truly human, then could he not be truly man. But we may be well assured that he took on him our nature, when we see him subject unto our infirmities. We know the Godhead is of infinite perfection, and therefore is exalted far above all possibility of molestation. When therefore we see our Saviour truly suffer, we know his Divine essence suffered not, and thence acknowledge the addition of his human nature, as the proper subject of his passion. And from hence we may infallibly conclude, surely that Mediator between God and man was truly man, as we are men, who when he fasted was an hungry, when he travelled was thirsty and weary as we are, who being grieved wept, being in an agony sweat, being scourged bled, and being crucified died.

Secondly, It was necessary Christ should suffer for the redemption of lapsed men, and their reconciliation unto God; which was not otherwise to be performed than by a plenary satisfaction to his will. He therefore was by all his sufferings made an expiation, atonement, and propitiation, for all our sins. For salvation is impossible unto sinners without remission of sin; and remission, in the decree of God, impossible without effusion of blood. Our redemption therefore could not be wrought but by the blood of the Redeemer, but by a lamb slain, but by a suffering Saviour.

Thirdly, It behoved Christ to suffer, that he might purchase thereby eternal happiness in the heavens both for him-

self the head, and for the members of his body. "He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore hath he lift up his head." (Psal. cx. 7.) "Ought not Christ to suffer, and so to enter into his own glory?" (Luke xxiv. 26.) And doth he not by the same right by which he entered into it, confer that glory upon us? The recompence of the reward was set before him, and through an intuition of it he cheerfully underwent whatsoever was laid upon him. He must therefore necessarily suffer to obtain that happiness, who is therefore happy because he suffered.

Fourthly, It was necessary Christ should suffer, that we might be assured that he is truly affected with a most tender compassion of our afflictions. For this end was he subjected to misery, that he might become prone unto mercy; for this purpose was he made a sacrifice, that he might be a compassionate high-priest: and therefore was he most unmerciful to himself, that he might be most merciful unto us.

Fifthly, It was necessary the Son of man should suffer, thereby to shew us that we are to suffer, and to teach us how we are to suffer. For "if these things were done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry?" Nay, if God spared not his natural, his eternal, his only-begotten Son; how shall he spare his adopted sons, who are best known to be children because they are chastised, and appear to be in his paternal affection because they lie under his fatherly correction? We are therefore heirs, only because coheirs with Christ; and we shall be kings, only because we shall reign together with him. It is a certain and infallible consequence, "if Christ be risen, then shall we also rise;" and we must look for as strong a coherence in this other, if Christ hath suffered, then must we expect to suffer. And as he taught the necessity of, so he left us the direction in, our sufferings. Great was the example of Job, but far short of absolute perfection: the pattern beyond all exception is alone our Saviour, who hath taught us in all our afflictions the exercise of admirable humility, perfect patience, and absolute submission unto the will of God.

And now we may perceive the full importance of this part of the article, and every Christian may thereby understand what he is to believe, and what he is conceived to profess, when he makes this confession of his faith, *he suffered*. For hereby every one is obliged to intend thus much: I am really

persuaded within myself, and do make a sincere profession of this as a most necessary, certain, and infallible truth, that the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, and of the same essence with the Father, did for the redemption of mankind really and truly suffer; not in his Divinity, which was impassible, but in his humanity, which in the days of his humiliation was subject unto our infirmities: that as he is a perfect Redeemer of the whole man, so he was a complete sufferer in the whole; in his body, by such dolorous infirmities as arise internally from human frailties, and by such pains as are inflicted by external injuries; in his soul, by fearful apprehensions, by unknown sorrows, by anguish inexpressible. And in this latitude and propriety I believe our Saviour *suffered*.

Under Pontius Pilate.

AFTER the substance of this part of the article, consisting in our Saviour's passion, *he suffered*, followeth the circumstance of time, declared by the present governor, *under Pontius Pilate*. Which though the name of a stranger to the commonwealth of Israel, and the church of Christ, is well preserved to eternal memory in the sacred articles of our CREED. For as the Son of God by his determinate counsel, was sent into the world to die in the fulness of time, so it concerns the church to be assured of the time in which he died. And because the ancient custom of the world was, to make their computations by their governors, and refer their historical relations to the respective times of their government: therefore that we might be properly assured of the actions of our Saviour which he did, and of his sufferings (that is, the actions which others did to him), the present governor is named in that form of speech which is proper to such historical or chronological narrations, when we affirm that he *suffered under Pontius Pilate*.*

* Ἐν Πόντιου Πιλάτῳ. Which words before the procurator. Thus Festus pronounced it to St. Paul, Acts xxv. 9. Σήμερον κρίνωμαι ἐν ἡμῶν; and St. Paul answered in the same propriety of speech, ἐν τῷ ἑμαυτοῦ Καίσαρος ἰσχύος αἰμῇ. Thus Christ tells his apostles, Mark xiii. 9. ἐν ἡγεμονίαι καὶ βασιλείαι σινοῦσιν. And in this sense ἐν is often used by the Greeks. Secondly, ἐν Πιλάτῳ is *under Pilate*, that is, in the time of his govern-

And because he not only suffered under him as the present governor, but also was arraigned and condemned by him as a judge; therefore it will be necessary for the illustration of the manner, and confirmation of the truth of our Saviour's sufferings, to declare what hath been left and delivered to our knowledge, both concerning his person and his office.

For the first, we find him described by two names: nor is any other name of his extant, although, according to the general custom of the Romans,* he should have three. The first of these two is *Pontius*,† the name descended to him

ment, when and while he was procurator of Judea; as ἐν ἀρχιερίῳ Ἀππᾶ καὶ Καϊάφα, Lake iii. 2. and ἐν Ἀδείβῳ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Mark ii. 26. Which is also according to the custom and language of the Greeks; as Κατακλυσμός ἐπὶ Δαυκαλίανος γένετο. Mart. Arundel. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δαομίδουτος ἑξααστάντων Τρέων. Plat. Epist. ad Archytam; and ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος, in this king's reign; is the common phrase of Pausanias. Thus the Athenians among their nine Ἀρχόντες had one who was called Ἐπώνυμος, because his name was used for the designation of that year; and the phrase was usually, ἐπὶ τοῦ δυνά, or ἐπὶ τοῦ δυνά ἀρχόντος, as I find it thrice in one place. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (Ἰσοκράτης) ἐπὶ Λυσίμαχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γένοντι, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. Laert. in Platone. In the same manner did the Lacedæmonians make their historical accounts by their Ephori, and the Argivi by the priestesses of Juno: Ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργαί τῷ πεπρωμένῳ δυοῖν δύνοντα ἔτι ἱερωμένους, καὶ Ἀμεινίου ἐφ' οὗ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθολάου ἐπὶ δύο μῆνας ἀρχόντος Ἀθηναίους. Thucyd. l. ii. And as the Greeks thus referred all actions to the times of these governors, so did the Jews under the Roman government, to the procurators of Judea; as appeareth by Josephus, who mentioning the first of that office, Coponius, presently relates the insurrection of Judas Galileus in this manner: ἐπὶ τούτου (Κωπονίου) τις ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας, ἰούδας ὄνομα, εἰς ἀποστασιν ἤρξατο τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου: de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12. then names his successor Ambivius, ἐφ' οὗ Σαλάμης Ἰαμινὰν κατακλύσω· after him Rufus, ἐφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καϊσάρ. Antiq. Jud. l. xviii. c. 3. And in the same manner in the Creed, παθόντα ἐν Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ, our Saviour suffered under Pontius Pilate; that is, at the time when he was procurator of Judea; as Ignatius fully, ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου. Epist. ad Magyesios.

* Pausanias, speaking of the Romans, saith, Τρεῖς ὁνόματα ἔχοντες; καὶ ἔτι κλίνο

ὀνόματα ἑκάστω τίθενται. And although Diomedes and Plutarch have observed, that even among the Romans there were some διώνυμα, yet the prænomen was never omitted, as Priscian affirmed, “Ex illo tempore consuetudo tenuit, ut nemo Romanus sit absque prænominē.” l. ii.

† Pontius and Pilate were his *nomen* and *cognomen*, in the same manner as Julius and Cæsar are described by Suetonius: “Non Cæsare et Bibulo, set Julio et Cæsare, Coss. actum scriberent, bis eundem prænomentes, nomine atque cognomine.” l. i. c. 20. Thus without a *prænomen* or *agnomen*, he is only known to us by his *nomen* properly called, and his *cognomen*. The nature of which two is thus described by the ancients: “Nomen proprium est gentilitium, id est, quod originem gentis et familie declarat, ut Portius, Cornelius; cognomen est quod uniuscujusque proprium, et nominibus gentilitiis subjungitur, ut Cato, Scipio.” Diomedes de Orat. l. i. “Nomen quod familie originem declarat, ut Cornelius; cognomen, quod nomini subjungitur, ut Scipio.” Charisius, l. ii. The first of these Dionysius calls τὸ συγγενικὸν καὶ πατρωνυμικόν, Plutarch, οἰκίας ἢ γένους κοινὸν and κοινὸν ἀπὸ συγγενείας: the second he calls προσσηρικὸν ἐξ ἐπιδότου. Thus Pontius was his *nomen gentis* or *gentilitium*, and Pilate his *cognomen*. As therefore Pontius Aquila, Pontius Cominius, Pontius Herennius, Pontius Paulinus, &c. so also Pontius Pilate. Wherefore in vain have some of the ancients endeavoured to give an etymology of these names, as they do of Greek and Hebrew names in Scripture, and think thereby to express the nature or actions of them that bare the names. As Isidorus Hispal. Orig. l. vii. c. 10. “Pontius declinans concilium, utique Judæorum: accepta enim aqua levitatus suus, dicens, innocens ego sum a sanguine hujus justī.” And Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, deduced Pontius from an island called Ponta, near to Rome. And

from the original of his family, which was very ancient; the second *Pilatus*, as a cognominal addition distinguishing from the rest descending from the same original.

He was by birth a Roman; by degree of the equestrian order, sent by Tiberius the emperor to be a governor of Judea. For about threescore years before our Saviour's birth, the Jews by Pompey the Great were made tributary to the Romans. And although during the life of Hircanus the high-priest, the reign of Herod and his son Archelaus, the Roman state suffered the Jews to be ruled by their own laws and governors; yet when Archelaus was banished by Augustus, they received their governors from the Roman emperor, being made a part of the province of Syria,* belonging to his care. In the life of Augustus there was a succession of three; Coponius, Ambivius, and Rufus. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, they were governed by Valerius Gracchus, and at his departure by Pontius Pilate.

The office which this *Pilate* bare was the procuratorship of Judea, as is most evident out of the history both of the Romans,† from whom he received his authority, and of the

St. Jerome, "Quod significat nomen Pilati, i. e. Malleatoris, i. e. qui domat ferreas gentes, ad Mat. xv. Pilatus, Os malleatoris; quia dum Christum ore suo et iustificat et condemnat, more malleatoris utrinque ferit. *Ibid.* ib. Pontius declinans concilium; Pilatus, Osmalleatoris." *S. Jer. de nom. Hebraicis, in Luca, et rursus in Actis.* Where he lets us understand that these etymologies were made from the Hebrew language; and makes an excuse, because the letter P is here taken for the Hebrew פ, to which the Latin F more properly answers. "Sed sciendum est quod apud Hebræos P littera non habetur, nec ullum nomen est quod hoc elementum sonet: abusive igitur accipienda, quasi per F litteram scripta sint." Thus did they vainly strive to find a Hebrew original, and that such a one as should represent the conditions of Pilate; when these two names are nothing else but the Roman *nomen* and *cognomen* of that person.

* Τῆς Ἀρχαλαίου ἰθαρχίας μεταπιστεύσεις εἰς ἱπαρχίαν. *Joseph. de Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 13. Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχαλαίου χάρις ὑποταλοῦς προσνημύσεως τῇ Σύρα. *in Antiq. Jud.* l. xvii. c. 15. Παρὶν δὲ Κυρίνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέδωκεν Συρίας γινομένην. *Ibid.* l. xviii. c. 1.

† Tacitus speaking of the Christians, "Author nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio

imperante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est." *Annal.* l. xv. And Tertullian, most skilful of their laws and customs, speaks thus of our Saviour; "postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato, Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti. *Apologet.* c. 21. Whom St. Cyprian follows: "Hunc magistri eorum Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt," *Advers. Demetr.* Thus also Josephus for the Jews: Παμφθίλς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρέπων ὑπὸ Τιβέριον Πιλάτος. *De Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 14. And Philo, Πιλάτος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχον ἐπιτρόπος ἀποδιδυγμένους τῆς Ἰουδαίας. *De legat. ad Caium.* And therefore those words of St. Luke, c. iii. 1. ἡγμενίσθητος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας were properly translated by the old interpreter, procurante Pontio Pilato Judeam. Thus Lucius Dexter ad annum Christi 28. "Pontius Pilatus procurator Judææ a Tiberio mittitur in Judæam." And Justin Martyr most properly; Τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρόνους Τιβέριου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου. *Apol.* 2. And again, speaking to the emperors, by whom the procurators were sent; Καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ὑμετέρου παρ' Ἰουδαίους γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου. And again, μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. *Dial. cum Tryph.* As also Eusebius, Δε-

Jews, over whom he exercised his dominion. But what was the office of a procurator in those times,* though necessary for our present purpose, is not so easy to determine, because it was but newly introduced into the Roman government. For before the dominion of that city was changed from a commonwealth into an empire, there was no such public office in any of the provinces; and, particularly in Judea, none till after the banishment of Archelaus, some years after our Saviour's birth. When Augustus divided the provinces of the empire into two parts; one of which he kept for his own care, and left the other to the inspection of the senate: he sent, together with the president of each province, as the governor-in-chief of the province, a procurator, whose office was to take an account of all the tribute, and whatsoever was due to the emperor, and to order and dispose of the same

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς Τιβηρίου Κασιδιᾶς, ἐπι-
τροπὸς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβηρίου καθίσταται.
Πλάτος. Hist. l. i. c. 10. And St. Je-
rome's translation of his Chronicon; "Pi-
latus procurator Judææ a Tiberio mittitur."
Thus it appears that Pilate of the eque-
strian order, was properly procurator, as
that office was ordinarily given to men of
that order, as Tacitus testifies: "Cn. Julius
Agricola utrumque avum procuratorem
Cæsarum habuit, quæ equestris nobilitas
est." *In vit. Jul. Agr.* Which is to be un-
derstood concerning the imperial provin-
ces: for into those which were of the
provinces of the people, the procurators
sent by Cæsar were of the Liberti. For
the emperor sent into all the provinces his
procurators, but with this difference, as
Dio observes; εἰς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἴδιον, τὰ
τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
ἰσχυρίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, πύμπν.
Hist. l. liii.

* The Roman procurator is ordinarily
in Greek authors expressed by their Ἐπι-
τροπός, as the Gloss. Latin. Græc. Procu-
rator, Ἐπιτροπός. But yet they are not
of the same latitude in their use; Ἐπι-
τροπός, comprehending the notion of tutor,
as well as procurator. *Heusch.* Ἐπιτροπός,
ὁ προστατὴν χωρίων, καὶ ὅλης τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ
ἐξουσίαν. Gloss. Vet. Ἐπιτροπός, procurator
tutor. Ἐπιτροπός, therefore was used by
the Greeks in both notions, whereof pro-
curator of the Latins is but one. And
in the language of the Romans, he is a
procurator which undertakes to manage
the business of another man. "Procurator
si negotium suscipit," saith Asconius in
Divin. and Ser. "Pompeius, Procurator
absentis nomine actor fit;" he to whom the

care of another man's estate or affairs
was committed. Gloss. Vet. Ἐρρολὸς, Com-
missum, et Ἐρρολός, procurator. In cor-
respondence to these procurators of the
affairs and estates of private persons,
there were made such as did take care in
every province of the imperial revenue;
who, in respect of the person whom they
served, were called *Procuratores Cæsaris*,
or *Augustales*; in respect of the countries
where they served, were termed *Procu-
ratores Provinciales*. Their office is best
described by *Dion. Hist. l. liii.* τοὺς ἐπι-
τρόπους, οὗτοι γὰρ τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους
ἐκλόνοντας καὶ προσταταγμένα σφίσιν ἀνα-
λίσκοντας, ἡμετέρους. We call, says he,
these Ἐπιτροπός, that is, *Procuratores*,
which receive the public revenues, and
dispose of them according to the com-
mands received from the emperor. For
they acted in his name, and what was
done by them was accounted as done by
the emperor himself. "Quæ acta gesta
sunt a Procuratore Cæsaris, sic ab eo
comprobari ac si a Cæsare gesta essent,"
Ulpian. l. i. ff. As we read in Tacitus
of the emperor Claudius; "Sæpius audita
vox Principis, parem vim rerum habèn-
dam a Procuratoribus suis judicatorum,
ac si ipse statuisset." *Annal. l. xii.* And
in Suetonius: "Ut rata essent quæ Procu-
ratores sui in judicando statuerent, a Se-
natus precario exegit." The proper office
therefore of the provincial procurator
was, to receive the imperial revenue, and
dispose of it as the emperor commanded,
and to all intents and purposes to do
such things as were necessary thereunto,
with such authority, as if the emperor
himself had done them.

for his advantage. Neither was there, at the first institution of this office, any other act belonging properly to their jurisdiction, but such a care and disposal of the imperial revenue: which they exercised as inferior and subordinate to the president, always supreme provincial officer.

Now Judea being made part of a province of Syria, and consequently under the care of the president of that province, according to this institution, a particular procurator was assigned unto it, for the disposing the emperor's revenue. And because the nation of the Jews were always suspected of a rebellious disposition against the Roman state, and the president of Syria, who had the power of the sword, was forced to attend upon the other parts of his province; therefore the procurator of Judea was furnished with power of life and death,* and so administered all the power of the

* This appeareth by Copónius, the first proper procurator of Judea, who was brought in by Quirinus Præses of Syria, when he came to dispose of the goods of Archelaus, and to reduce Judea into the form of a province, and adjoin it to Syria. Of this Coponius Josephus writeth after this manner, Κοπόνιος τε αὐτῷ (Κυρήνῳ) συνστατήμηνται. τῶν γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐξουσίᾳ, that being of the equestrian order, he was sent with Quirinus to govern the Jews with the supreme power. *Antiq.* l. xviii. c. 1. And yet more expressly, as to the time, occasion, and extent, of his power: Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας εἰς ἑπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης, ἐπὶ τῷ ποσὶ τις ἰσχυρὴς παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τάξις, Κοπόνιος τίμηνται, μέχρι τοῦ κτείνῃν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν. *Id. de Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 11. When those parts which were under the command of Archelaus were reduced into a province, Coponius was sent thither by the emperor, and furnished with power of life and death. For although, in the proconsular provinces, the procurator of the emperor had no power but in those things which belonged to the exchequer; yet in those provinces which were properly *presidiales*, the procurator was often *loco Præsidis*. From whence in the ancient inscriptions we read of the same person, "Procurator et Præses Alpium, Procurator et Præses provinciarum per Orientem, Procurator et Præses provinciarum Sardiniae." It was often therefore so, that the procurator did *Præsidis partibus fungi*: as *Ulpian.* l. viii. de officio Proconsulis: "In provinciam enim Præsidium provinciarum, nec aliter Procuratori Cæ-

saris, hæc cognitio injungitur, quam Præsidis partibus in provincia fungatur." And this is very necessary to be observed, because a procurator barely as such, not armed with the power of the *Præses provinciarum*, had not the power of the sword. As Antoninus to Valerius; "Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis non fungebatur, exsilii tibi penam non potuit irrogare." l. ix. *Cod. de penis*. And to Heliodorus; "Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis provinciarum non fungitur, sicut exigere penam desertæ accusationis non potest, ita judicare ut ea inferatur sententiâ suâ non potest, l. iii. *C. Ubi Causa*. This was plain in the case of Lucilius Capito, procurator of Asia Minor, who was called in question for exceeding his power, and deserted therein by Tiberius. "Procurator Asiæ Lucilius Capito, accusante provincia, causam dixit magna cum adseveratione Principis, non se jus nisi in servitiâ et pecuniis familiares dedisse. Quod si vim Prætoris usurpasset, manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo mandata sua, audirent socios." *Tacit. Annal.* And Dio upon the said example observes in general, that the procurators had no such power. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξὶν τῷ τοῖς αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διοικοῦσι πλὴν οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, ἢ τὰς νομισματίας προσόδους ἐκλίσαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐξίσαν τοῖς ἰδιωταῖς διαλέσθαι. But although the ordinary procurators had no other power, but to dispose of the revenue, and determine private causes; yet he which was *vice Præsidis*, had the power of the *Præses*: and such a procurator was Pontius Pilate in Judæa, as the others who preceded him also were.

president, which was, as to the Jews, supreme. Which is very observable, as an eminent act of the providence of God, by which the full power of judicature in Judea was left in the hands of the resident procurator.

For by this means it came to pass that Christ, who by the determinate counsel of God was to die, and by the prediction of the prophets was to suffer in a manner not prescribed by the law of Moses, should be delivered up to a foreign power, and so suffer death after the customs of that nation to whose power he was delivered. The malice of the obstinate Jews was high to accuse and prosecute him, but the power of the Jews was not so high as judicially to condemn him. For although the chief priests, and the elders, and the scribes, "condemned him guilty of death;" (Mark xiv. 64.) yet they could not condemn him to die, or pronounce the sentence of death upon him, "but deliver him up unto Pilate:" (John xviii. 30.) and when he refusing, said unto them, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law," they immediately returned, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," (ver. 31.) The power of life and death was not in any court of the Jews, but in the Roman governor alone, as supreme; and therefore they answered him, it was "not lawful:"* not in respect of the law of Moses, which gave them both sufficient power and absolute command to punish divers offenders with death; but in relation to the Roman empire, which had taken all that dominion from them. Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews themselves acknowledge that they lost this power; which is sufficient to shew that they had it not when our Saviour suffered: and it is as true that they lost it twenty years before, at the regulation of Archelaus, and the coming of Coponius the procurator with full power of life and death. Wherefore our Saviour was delivered unto Pilate, as the supreme judge

* I say, therefore, the Jews answered, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, because that power was taken out of their hands. For although St. Augustin thinks they thought it not lawful in respect of the Passover, "Intellegendum est eos dixisse, non sibi licere interficere quemquam, propter diei festi sanctitatem, quem celebrare jam ceperant," Tract. 14. in Joan. and St. Cyril be of the same opinion; yet others of the ancients deliver the true cause why they apply themselves to Pilate, to be their

want of power; as Ammonius most expressly, *Τίνος ἕνεκεν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπέλυν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον ἡγάγον; μάλιστα μὲν τὸ πολλὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶ καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐντέμνετο, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους τῶν πραγμάτων πεμψόντων* and upon those words in St. John, *ὅτι ἐκτελέσθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἥσαν γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, εἰπω τοῦτο.* So Theophylact. *Ἀγνοῶσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον αὐτοὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀπελύν, ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πεμψόντων* and before him St. Chrysostom.

over the nation of the Jews, that he might pronounce the sentence of death upon him.

But how this judge could be persuaded to an act of so much injustice and impiety, is not yet easy to be seen. The numerous controversies of the religion of the Jews, did not concern the Roman governors, nor were they moved with the frequent quarrels arising from the different sects. Pilate knew well "it was for envy that the chief priests delivered him;" (Matt. xxvii. 18.) and when "he had examined him, he found no fault touching those things whereof they accused him." (Luke xxiii. 14.) Three times did he challenge the nation of the Jews, "Why? what evil hath he done?" (ver. 22.) Three times did he make that clear profession, "I have found no cause of death in him." His own wife, admonished in a dream, "sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man:" (Matt. xxvii. 19.) and when he heard that "he made himself the Son of God, he was more afraid:" (John xix. 7, 8.) and yet notwithstanding these apprehensions and professions, he condemned and crucified him.

Here we must look upon the nature and disposition of Pilate, which inclined and betrayed him to so foul an act. He was a man of a high, rough, untractable, and irreconcilable spirit,* as he is described by the Jews, and appeareth from the beginning of his government, when he brought the bucklers stamped with the pictures of Cæsar into Jerusalem (which was an abomination to the Jews), and could neither be moved by the blood of many, nor persuaded by the most humble applications, and submissive entreaties of the whole nation, to remove them, till he received a sharp reprehension and severe command from the emperor Tiberius. After that, he seized on the corban, that sacred treasury, and spent it upon an aqueduct: nor could all their religious and importunate petitions divert his intentions, but his resolution went through their blood to bring in water. When the Galileans came up to Jerusalem, to worship God at his own temple, "he mingled their blood with their sacrifices." (Luke xiii. 1.) Add to this untractable and irreconcilable spirit, by which he had so often exasperated the

* So Philo testifieth of him: *μὴν γὰρ* again: *Οἱα οὐν ἡρώδης ἔχον καὶ βαρύνων,*
τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπῆς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αἰθέρου ἀνθρώπου.
ἀμείλικτος. *De Legat. ad Caium.* And

Jews, an avaricious and rapacious disposition, which prompted him as much to please them; and we may easily perceive what moved him to condemn that person to death whom he declared innocent. The evangelist telleth us that "Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus to be crucified." (Mark xv. 15.) They accused him at Rome, for all the insolences and rapines which he had committed, and by this act he thought to pacify them.*

It was thus necessary to express the person under whom our Saviour suffered; First, that we might for ever be assured of the time in which he suffered.† The enemies of Christianity began first to unsettle the time of his passion, that thereby they might at last deny the passion itself; and the rest of their falsehood was detected by the discovery of their false chronology.‡ Some fixed it to the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius,§ whereas it is certain Pontius Pilate was not then procurator in Judea; and as certain that our Saviour was baptized eight years after, "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar." (Luke iii. 1.) Some of the Jews, lest the destruction of Jerusalem might seem to follow upon, and for, our Saviour's crucifixion, have removed it near threescore years more backward yet, placing his death in the beginning of Herod's reign,|| who was not born

* For that which is observed by Pheilo upon the dedication of the shields at the first entrance into his government, must needs be much more true at this time of our Saviour's passion, when he had committed so many insolences, viz. that he feared the Jews should complain of him to Tiberius. Τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξετρέχευε, καταδίδοντα μὴ τῷ ὄντι περιβυσσάμενοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ ἰστοροπικῆς ἐξελίχουσι τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀπαγὰς, τὰς αἰσῆς, τὰς ἰσχυρίας, τοὺς ἀμύτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόβους, τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ ἀργαλιωτάτην ἀμέτρητα διεξιέλθοντες. *De Legat. ad Caium.*

† Cautissime qui Symbolum tradiderunt, etiam tempus que hæc sub Pontio Pilato gesta sunt designarunt, ne ex aliqua parte velut vaga et incerta gestorum traditio vacillaret. *Ruffinus in Expos. Symb.* Credimus itaque in eam qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus. Addendum enim erat Judicis nomen propter temporum cognitionem. *S. Aug. de Fide et Symb.* Pilatus Judex erat in illo tempore ab imperatore positus in Judea, sub quo Dominus passus est; οὗτος, men-

tio ad temporis significationem, non ad personæ illius pertinet dignitatem. *Serm. 131. de Tempore.* Irenæus speaking of St. Paul, "Evangelizabat Filium Dei Christum Jesum, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est." l. v. c. 12. And to make the more certain character of time, Ignatius added to the name of Pilate that of Herod: 'Ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ καὶ Ἡρώδου τετραρχοῦ καθηλωμένῳ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἰσταμένῳ. *Epist. ad Smyrn.*

‡ So Eusebius detected some of those which lived not long before him, οὐκ αὐτὴ σαφὴς ἀπεδείχθηται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χρόνι καὶ πρώτῳ διαδεδωκότων, ἐν οἷς πρώτος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παρασημασιώσεως χρόνος τὴν ἀπὸ καὶ ἑνὸς ἀπὸ ληγχοῦ τὸ φαῦδος. *Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 9.*

§ 'Ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης δ' οὐκ ὁρατοῦς τίς ἐστι, ἢ γέγονεν ἵνα οὐκ ἴδμεν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ πρὶν τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ πάθος τολμῶντα περιέχει, καθ' ὃν δεικνύται χρόνος μὴ ἐπιστάς πῃ τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλάτος. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 10.*

|| Divers of the Jews place the passion of Christ in the year, of their account

till towards the death of the same king. Others have removed it farther yet near twenty years,* and so vainly tell us how he died under Aristobulus, above fifty years before his birth in Bethlehem. This they do teach their proselytes, to this end, that they may not believe so much as the least historical part of the blessed evangelists. As, therefore, they deny the time of our Saviour's passion, in design to destroy his doctrine; so, that we might establish the substance of the gospel depending on his death, it was necessary we should retain a perfect remembrance of the time in which he died. Nor need we be ashamed that the Christian religion, which we profess, should have so known an epocha, and so late an original. Christ came not into the world in the beginning of it, but in the fulness of time.

Secondly, It was thought necessary to include the name of Pilate in our Creed, as of one who gave a most powerful external testimony to the certainty of our Saviour's death, and the innocency of his life.† He did not only profess, to the condemnation of the Jews, that he found nothing worthy of death in Christ; but left the same written to the gentiles of the Roman empire. Two ways he is related to have given most ample testimony to the truth: first, by an express written to Tiberius,‡ and by him presented to the

3724, which is sixty-nine years before our common account of the year in which he suffered. This invention of their own, grounded upon no foundation, and backed

with not so much as the least probability, they deliver as a tradition among them, continued in this rhyme,

בשנת נ" אלפים תשי"ב חנצרי נלכד
בשנת תקל"ב בעצ נעלב

i. e. In the year 3724 he of Nazareth was taken,
And in the year 532 he was crucified on a tree.

Not that they thought him taken in one year, and crucified in another; but these two unequal numbers signify the same year, the lesser number being a period of years, which, seven times numbered, equalleth the greater. So that their meaning is, that after seven periods, consisting of 532 years, in the year of the world 3724, Jesus of Nazareth was crucified.

* Others of the Jews pretend another account, viz. that Jesus was born in the year 3691, which was the fourth of Januarius, and crucified in the year 3707, which was the third of Aristobulus; making him the disciple of R. Josuah the son of Pamehiah, according to that usual phrase of theirs, כרבי ודושע בן

פרדיה שדחפו לישו בשתי ידים
Vide Sepher Juchasin.

† Nota quod in Pilato et uxore ejus, justam Dominum constantibus, Gentilis populi testimonium est. S. Hier. in Matt. xxvii.

‡ That Pontius Pilate wrote unto Tiberius of the death and resurrection of our Saviour, is testified by Tertullian, who was best acquainted with the Roman history: "Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio renunciavit." Apol. c. 21. And again, "Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annuntiavit sibi ex Syria Palestina, quæ veritatem illius (Christi) divi-

senate; secondly, by records written in tables, of all things of moment which were acted in his government.*

Thirdly, It behoved us to take notice of the Roman governor in the expression of our Saviour's passion, that thereby we might understand how it came to pass that Christ should suffer according to the Scriptures. The prophets had foretold his death, but after such a manner as was not to be performed by the Jews, according to whose law and custom, no man among them ever so died. Being then so great a prophet could not die but in Jerusalem, being the death he was to suffer was not agreeable to the laws and customs of the Jews; it was necessary a Roman governor should condemn him, that so the counsel of the will of God

aitatis revelarat, detailit ad Senatum cum prerogativa suffragii sui," c. 5. This is related by Eusebius out of Tertullian, in his Ecclesiastical History, l. ii. c. 2. and referred to the two-and-twentieth year of Tiberius in his Chron. "Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente, Tiberius retulit ad Senatum, ut inter cætera sacra reciperetur." The authority of this express is grounded on the great reputation of Tertullian (as is observed also by the author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, who concludes the relation with these words, *ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τερτυλλιανὸς ὁ ῥωμαῖος*), and the general custom by which all the governors of the provinces did give account unto the emperor of all such passages as were most remarkable: *παλαιῶ κακῆρατῆτος ἰδους τοῖς τῶν ἰθὺν ἀρχουσὶ τὰ παρὰ σφίσι κακοτομούμενα τῇ τῶν βασιλείων ἀρχῇ ἐπιμαρτυροῦντι σημαίνει, ὡς μὴδὲν αὐτῶν διαδιδράσκου τῶν γινόμενων*. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 2.

* The ancient Romans were desirous to preserve the memory of all remarkable passages which happened in the city: and this was done either in their *Acta Senatus*, or *Acta diurna populi*; which were diligently made and kept at Rome. In the same manner, the governors in the provinces took care that all things worthy of remark should be written in public tables, and preserved as the *Acta* in their government. And agreeably to this custom, Pontius Pilate kept the memoirs of the Jewish affairs, which were therefore called *Acta Pilati*, in which an account was given of our blessed Saviour; and the primitive Christians did appeal unto them in their disputes with the gentiles, as to a most undoubted testimony. Justin Martyr urged them even unto the Roman emperors: *Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγραπται, δυνάσθη*

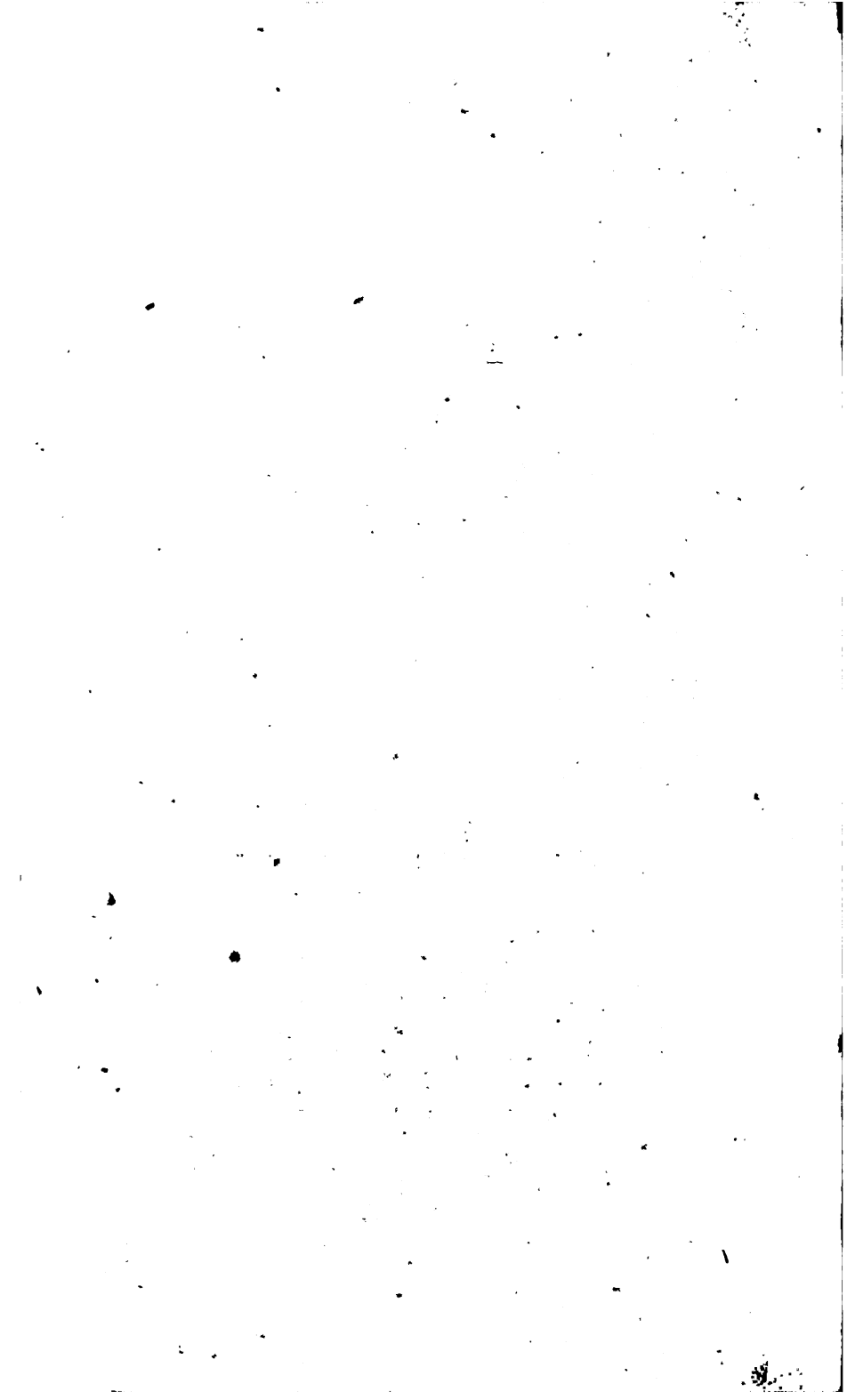
μαθῆν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων Ἀκτῶν. And again: "Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων Ἀκτῶν μαθεῖν δυνάσθη. *Apol. 2.* And in the differences between the Christians, they were cited by both parties. As the Tessaeredecattæ alleged them for their custom of the observance of Easter, as Epiphanius testifieth of them: *ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀκτῶν δεῖξεν Πιλάτου αἰχλοῦσι τὴν ἀκριβείαν εὐρηκῆναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται, τῇ πρὸ οὕτω καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίαν τὴν Σωτῆρα πεποσθῆναι*. And Epiphanius argeth the same *Acta* against them, but according to other copies: "Ἐτι δὲ εὐρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν (*lege* Ἀκτῶν) Πιλάτου, ἐν οἷς σημαίνει, πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίαν τὸ πάθος γαγενῆσθαι. *Her. 50.* Though the author of the eighth homily in Pascha, under the name of St. Chrysostom, agreeth in this reading with the Tessaeredecattæ, ὁ μὲν χρόνος καθ' ὃν ἔπαθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ οὐκ ἠγνόηται: τὰ γὰρ ὑπομνήματα τὰ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου πραχθῆντα καὶ τὴν προδεσμίαν περιέχει τοῦ Πάσχα: ἱστορεῖται γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρὸ οὕτω καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίαν ἔπαθεν ὁ Σωτὴρ. *tom. 5. p. 942.* These were also mentioned in the *Acta S. Tarachi, Probi et Andronici*, c. 9. "Præses dixit, Inique, non scis, quem invocas, Christum, hominem quidem fuisse factum, sub custodia Pontii Pilati, et punitum, ejus exstant Acta Passionis?" These *Acta* in the time of Maximus were adulterated, and filled with many blasphemies against our Saviour; as appears by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 9.* οὐκὼν σαφῶς ἀπελέλκεται τὸ πλῆγμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθδὶ καὶ πρῶτον διαδεδωκότων; et l. ix. c. 5. Πλασθέντες δὲ τὰ Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα πάσης ἐμύσσεια κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνῶναι τοῦ μάλιστα ἐπὶ πάσαν διαπύκνυνται τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχῇ.

might be fulfilled; by the malice of the one, and the customs of the other.

And now the advantage of this circumstance is discovered, every one may express the importance of it in this manner: I am fully persuaded of this truth as beyond all possibility of contradiction, that in the fulness of time God sent his Son; and that the eternal Son of God, so sent by him, did suffer for the sins of men, after the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Roman emperor, and before his death, in the time of Pontius Pilate the Cæsarian procurator of Judea; who, to please the nation of the Jews, did condemn him whom he pronounced innocent, and delivered him, according to the custom of that empire, and in order to the fulfilling of the prophecies, to die a painful and shameful death upon the cross. And thus I believe in Christ, that *suffered under Pontius Pilate.*

END OF VOL. I.







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